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‘An Island Between’: Multiple Migrations and the Repertoires of a St Helenian Identity

By

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the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

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DECLARATION

I declare that the contents of this thesis, which is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Warwick, are my own work. This material has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

During the course of this PhD, the following paper was presented:

No place like home. Community, continuity and contradiction within the Island of St Helena, A British Overseas Territory, *Stories of Migration: Theories, Research and Everyday Lives*, 2nd Enquire Postgraduate Conference, 10th and 11th June 2009, School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Nottingham.

SUMMARY

The small Island of St Helena is a British Overseas Territory. In 1981 the British Nationality Act denied the islanders their British citizenship rights and in 2002 their rights as British citizens were fully restored. As a consequence of the return of British citizenship, a new wave of migration has occurred whereby many islanders are migrating to the UK.

Embedded within an ethnographic framework, the thesis draws upon 68 interviews undertaken with St Helenians both on and off the island. Drawing upon the islanders stories, narratives and repertoires, this thesis oscillates between the two fields of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies.

The analysis combines the anthropological truth claims of the community, as well as utilizes a post-structuralist approach that investigates the data for a micro understanding of discourse, ideology, identity, nuance and complexity, that demonstrates the paradoxical investments for the islanders.

For cultural analytical triangulation, the theoretical concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin have been drawn upon, to investigate the feelings, emotions, cultural values and symbolic practices as demonstrated by the St Helenian community themselves.

This thesis is a study of St Helenianness alongside Britishness and Islandness. Migration, identity, Diaspora, transnationalism and citizenship are common themes within this thesis, but the contribution is specifically to island studies.

PRELUDE: The Island of St Helena

Introduction

‘St Helena is the Cinderella, or shall we say the poor forgotten orphan, of the British Empire. Once upon a time she was the pampered darling of the Honourable East India Company. Given just a little help, a little encouragement and a fair share of their own land to cultivate, and a voice in their government of their native island, the St Helenians would be the happiest and most contented race in the world’

(Gosse, 1990, p. 373)

The Island of St Helena was once a valuable asset to the East India Company and subsequently to the British Empire. The Island continues to have a relationship with Britain and it is currently a British Overseas Dependent Territory. Gosse’s quote however, not only provides an insight into the island’s history as well as its current status, but also the colonial gaze that continues over the island. His reference to the island as a ‘poor forgotten orphan’ provides a glimpse into the continuing hierarchical relationship between Britain and St Helena. Moreover, embedded within colonial discourses, Gosse himself uses language that patronisingly positions the island as a passive and subordinate place.

Within this Prelude I will provide an overview of the island’s history and raise some pertinent issues for this thesis. However, in contrast to much of the available literature on the Island, I will provide a critical overview of the island’s history, beyond the confines of a colonial gaze. I will discuss the *raison d’être* of the island, its economic dependency on the British taxpayer, and the historical and contemporary patterns of migration from the island. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how the St Helenian population has evolved over the last 500 years. I will also discuss the continuities, events and ruptures that have occurred in past and recent

history, which have contributed to the current status of the island. Before I go on to discuss each of these I will briefly explain the island's geography.

The Geography

Some islands remain both a long way from anywhere and without accessible air connections. These places remain truly apart from the rest of the world. One such island is St Helena ... the most isolated population of that size in the world

(Royle, 1991, p. 63).

The Island of St Helena is isolated. Ten and a half miles long, and 6 miles wide, the non-active volcanic island is located in the South Atlantic Ocean. St Helena's closest neighbour and dependency is Ascension Island, which is 703 miles away. To the East by 1,143 miles lies its' nearest mainland, Angola, and to the West of the Island by 1790 miles is Brazil. St Helena is 4,500 miles from the UK (Cross, 1980, p. 6; Royle, 2001, p. 211; Schulenburg, 1998, p. 108).¹

St Helena has no airport, and the only way on and off the Island is by the Royal Mail Ship (RMS) St Helena. The RMS makes several calls per year to Ascension Island, Cape Town in South Africa, and Walvis Bay in Namibia. Infrequent visits, often once per year, are also made to Tristan Du Cunha, Tenerife and the UK. Due to the lack of an airport, the Island is 'one of the few places in the world where travel times to anywhere is measured in days' (Royle, 2001, p. 115). In times of emergency, medical evacuation (medevac) takes place with patients being shipped to Cape Town via a passing ship in transit (Royle, 2001, pp. 222-223).

¹ The Island of St Helena is 17km by 10km long. It is 1130km from Ascension island, 1840km from Angola and 2880km from Latin Brazil. It is 7,240km from the UK.

The History and the Population

St Helena was an island that remained uninhabited and undiscovered until 21st May 1502 (Cross, 1980, p. 7; Gosse, 1990, p. 2)². The Portuguese originally discovered the island, and during this historical period of discovery and mercantilism, characterised by European expansion (Hart, 2008), the Portuguese realised the potential of the island as a stopping off point for ships sailing through the South Atlantic Ocean from the East (Cross, 1980, p. 14; Gosse, 1990, p. 3). Over the following century the Island was fought over as a valuable asset by three European nationalities: the Portuguese, English and the Dutch (Cross, 1980, p. 15).

By the 1670s, The English *East India Company* had colonised and fortified the island. The Company grew in size and power, as did the value of the island, and the number of ships stopping there (Cross, 1980; Gosse, 1990). The East India Company occupied the island for one hundred and eighty two years (Gosse, 1990, p. 301) in which time a substantial and flourishing community was established. A small community had come together consisting of English sailors, colonists, servants, and slaves (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 112).

In 1810, 400 Chinese indentured labourers arrived on the island (Cross, 1980, p. 32) and in 1815 Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat was accompanied by his exile to St Helena (Cross, 1980, p. 35). English military on St Helena increased, as did the influx of French staff. The 1817 census counted the population as being 4,299,

² Although Schulenburg (1998, p. 108) argued the possibility that it wasn't actually discovered until 1503.

which consisted of white inhabitants, a garrison, Chinese indentured labourers, freed black people, and slaves (Schulenburg and Schulenburg, 1997, p. 8).

By the early nineteenth century, Victorian Britain was witnessing a change to British imperial and colonial culture and this had a significant impact on St Helena for two reasons. Firstly, in 1834 the Island was transferred to the British Government when it became a Crown Colony (Cross, 1980, p. 36). This not only removed the ownership and administration of the Island from the East India Company (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 110), but also removed the Company's financial support of the island (Cross, 1980, p. 37). Secondly, two years previously, the East India Company abolished slavery leaving an abundance of ex-slaves on the island with no purpose (Gosse, 1990, p. 301). This was exacerbated in 1839 when Queen Victoria ordered that rescued and freed slaves discovered between America and West Africa were to be taken to St Helena for care (Gosse, 1990, p. 310; Schulenburg, 1998, p. 112). 'Another racial strain had been added to the already complex mixture which is the St Helenian' (Cross, 1980, p. 37).

Following the departure of the East India Company, the island's situation changed from a vibrant community and vibrant economy, to one of virtually no economy and in poverty (Cross, 1980, p. 37). Charles Darwin visited the island in 1836 and commented on the severe poverty, especially for the emancipated slaves (Cross, 1980, p. 37; Gosse, 1990, p. 309). Within the following decade, the economic depression was exacerbated even further on the Island for three reasons. In 1869 the Suez Canal opened due to the introduction of steam powered boats and so ships no longer required St Helena as a stopping off point. In 1874 the Royal Navy's

West African squadron departed from the island. In 1875 the African Depot for liberated slaves closed (Cross, 1980, p. 39). Subsequently, the number of ships stopping at the island reduced from 1,044 in 1860, to a mere 51 in 1910 (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 111).

Many families migrated to South Africa (Cross, 1980, p. 37) and whereas in 1871 the population was 5,838, by 1901 it had reduced to 3,342 (Schulenburg and Schulenburg, 1997, p. 8). It was the presence of six thousand South African captives and troops on the island that temporarily improved the island's economy (Cross, 1980, p. 40). This included another exile, the South African Zulu Chief Din Zulu, as well as Boer prisoners of war. The island's economy improved, but only for a limited period.

The Prelude so far has documented the history of St Helena over a four hundred year period, from its discovery in 1502 until the 1900s. Some claim St Helena to be a unique island with unique islanders (Cross, 1980, p. 12; Lawrence, 2002, p. vii). However, the origination of the St Helenian population has taken place in similar ways to the 'ethno-cultural crossovers' of many historical and contemporary communities, cultures and nationalities (Medea, 2002, p. 2).

The diverse St Helenian ancestry has originated from Portuguese, English and Dutch sailors; Malay, Goanese and Madagascan slaves; slaves from the East Indies and Sumatra; Scottish and Irish sailors; Chinese labourers, French servants, American whalers, African slaves and Boer prisoners of war (Cross, 1980, p. 86-89). However, the ethnic strands have now 'blended together' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 24) and

any ethnic distinction that once occurred on the island no longer exists. The islanders, or the ‘Saints’, have become ‘a rather unusual true melting pot’ (Royle, 2001, p. 212).

Although clearly from an ethnically diverse ancestry, St Helena’s residents have been for the past three and a half centuries, living on British soil. Occupied by the East India Company since the 1670s and then transferred to the British Crown in 1834, the islanders’ history has demonstrated that regardless of heritage and ancestry, the islanders have been for over three centuries controlled and owned by the British.

The Island with No Economy: St Helena as a State Apparatus

Since the twentieth century, St Helena’s status as an asset to the British Empire had ceased, as has its economy. In 1907 the islanders achieved a local economy of their own with the production and manufacturing of New Zealand flax, which reached a boom during world war one (Cross, 1980, p. 41). The flax industry increased again with world war two (Cross, 1980, p. 41), as did the population, which rose to 4748 in 1946 (Schulenburg & Schulenburg, 1997, p. 8). It is often more beneficial for small island communities to focus on one ‘export activity’ and in return import even the most basic of foods (UNCTAD³, 1985, p. 132). However, by 1966 the flax industry had collapsed due to the British Post Office changing the material of their post-bags from St Helenian hemp to synthetics (Cross, 1980, p. 44; Drower, 1992, p. 219). Indeed, ‘flax production became a classic insular ‘all the eggs in one basket’

³ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

scenario' (Royle, 2001, p. 215). Since the decline of the flax industry, the St Helenian population have had no substantial economy of their own.

Following the 1960s, the island's economy became subsidized with a British Grant-in-aid, which was introduced by the St Helenian Development Plan. Cohen (1983b, p. 132) argued that the development plan for St Helena remained non-developing and embedded within the discourses of colonial style practices. He alleged that the development plan of the 1970s appeared to be more of a 'planned form of increased dependency' and Cohen (1983b) titled his paper 'St Helena: Welfare Colonialism in Practice'.

The British taxpayer was committed to paying £5.5 million towards the Development Plan and Grant in Aid between 1974 and 1979, most of which went into administration on the island (Cohen, 1983a, p. 131). Since then the aid has been continuous. At the end of the 1980s the RMS cost the British taxpayer £57 million, which now continues to run at a loss so is subsidized by the British Government (Drower, 1992, p. 219). In the financial year 1990-1991, for example, the total expenditure on the island included a Grant-in-Aid of £3.42 million, a shipping subsidy of £0.92 million, Development Aid of £1.39 million, and technical co-operation of £2.18 million. The total for that year was £7.92 million (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 112). More recently, the St Helena Sustainable Development Plan (St Helena Government, 2007) stated public expenditure had been, for example, £10.2 million in 2001/02 and £15.3 million in 2005/06.

Since the 1970s, the island has been a British public economy. Preventing

mass redundancy on the island (Gillet, 1983, p. 158), 55% of St Helenians are employed by the public sector (St Helena Government, 2007) within the thirteen departments on the island. These include Education, Police, Public Health and Social Services, the Post Office, Public Works, Agriculture, Development and Economic Planning, the Audit Service, Employment and Social Services, Finance, Human Resources, Legal, Land and Planning, and the Office of Chief Secretary (St Helena Government, 2011). The St Helena Government also hold roles in the power and water supplies on the Island, banking, commerce and the media such as the island's newspaper, *The Herald*⁴. The St Helena Government also owns the RMS (Royle, 2001, p. 217).

Typical of many small island communities (Skinner, 2002b, p. 308), most St Helenians work for local Government. It has been argued that the number of St Helenians working for the St Helenian Government is actually a reflection of the numbers who would be unemployed (Gillet, 1983, p. 158) and are 'effectively on the dole' (Drower, 1992, p. 220). Moreover, the islander's lifestyles are far from affluent. 'St Helena society is low income' (Royle, 1991, p. 67). Wages are low, with the average salary being 4 thousand pounds per year (O'Bey, no date, p. 12). Additionally, shop prices are high due to import duties. Cross (1980, p. 104) documented how the majority of goods are imported to the island and approximately a quarter of St Helenian income comes from tax via customs on the imports (Cross, 1980, p. 104). This continues to the present day.

The island has ironically stopped producing its own food. Gosse (1990, p.

⁴ There is another local newspaper, *The Independent*.

376) referred back to the times of the East India Company when ‘the island was world famous for its groves of lemons, oranges, pomegranates ... coconuts, dates, mangoes and bananas and other tropical fruits’, and when St Helenian coffee won first prize at London’s 1851 Great Exhibition. Small amounts of coffee and honey are now produced on the island (Gosse, 1990, p. 375; Royle, 2001, p. 216) but the island’s bulk of honey and coffee is imported along with most fruit and vegetables. Since the decline of the dairy in the 1980s, the whole island relies on imported UHT milk. As Cohen stated:

‘It is remarkable that an island that once produced enough to provision 800 sailing ships calling annually in the eighteenth century can now produce only a small fraction of the food consumed by the 5000 members of the local population’

(Cohen, 1983a, p. 120)

The private sector on the island has been increasing since the 1980s. Gillett (1983, p. 156) claimed private house construction to be greater than the Government housing programme. Private farming was also increasing, as was the retail by the island’s largest landowner and importer (Gillett, 1983, p. 156). There are now over 200 private businesses on the island, which tend to run on a small-scale and part-time basis, and employ approximately 900 people (St Helena Government, 2007). To the current day however, an economy that could support the island remains non-existent and the island remains dependent upon British aid. Dolman confirmed that small islands struggle due to being ‘high-cost producers’ (1985, p. 44). However, Royle (2001, p. 217) blamed the St Helenian Government for actually hindering commercial enterprise. Similarly, Gillett claimed the competition by the St Helenian Government, against private commerce, was what prevented greater self-sufficiency (Gillett, 1983, p. 157).

Tourism on the island is minimal. Napoleon's home during his exile, and his tomb, remains the island's main attraction point for any potential tourism. There are gift shops, arts and crafts, and cruise ships occasionally stop at the Island. However, a lack of beaches and an airport has rendered tourism of any substantial scale impossible (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 112). Many experts, ex-patriots and businessmen have visited the island to investigate the provision of improved access, such as an airport or breakwater. However, to date neither have materialised.

The island remains economically disadvantaged and dependent on financial assistance. Once characterised by a flourishing community, St Helena is now characterised by migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy (Royle (2001, p. 218). St Helena's post-colonial 'parasitical standard of living' (Gillet, 1983, p. 152) has become the responsibility, burden and liability of Britain (Cross, 1980, p. 104; Royle, 1991, p. 10). St Helena Island is undoubtedly, a British dependent island.

A Culture of Dependency

Once a British Crown Colony, the island's official status shifted to a British Dependent Territory in 1981, and then to a British Overseas Territory in 2002. St Helena, Ascension and Tristan Da Cunha are considered as one territory⁵. St Helena's relationship with Ascension will be discussed later within this Prelude. St Helena and Tristan Da Cunha however, barely have any connection. Similar to some Caribbean Islands, Tristan Da Cunha and St Helena do not form 'an imagined community' (Olwig, 1993, p. 3). 'The link is largely for administrative purposes as

⁵ Ascension is 703 miles away (Royle, 2001, p. 211) and Tristan da Cunha is 1,260 miles from St Helena (Day, 1997, xvii).

there is little or no connection between the islands socially or commercially' (Cross, 1980, p. 167).

St Helena, Ascension Island and Tristan Da Cunha are politically controlled by the British Government (Gillett, 1983, p. 153). The ex-patriot Governor and an administration team that consists of mostly ex-patriots, reside on St Helena and they head the political system. In the 1967 constitution (Cross, 1980, p. 103) St Helena had its own Legislative Council (LEGCO), which consists of elected members (some of whom are St Helenian), including the Governor and ex-officio officers such as The Financial Secretary. The Island also has an Executive Council (EXCO) (some of whom are St Helenian), which consists of six members of the legislative Council, the Governor and two ex-officio officers. The Governor, EXCO and LEGCO are responsible for overseeing localised laws (which tend to be English common law) and liaising with the UK. The island currently has its first St Helenian Deputy Governor.

The St Helenian psyche has been reported to have developed as a consequence of its dependence upon Britain. This is a dependence that the St Helenians show an unwillingness to move away from (Drower, 1992, p. 220). Cohen noted how the St Helenians are known to be a passive culture, and he cited a British parliamentarian talking about the islanders in the 1950s:

'Several factors have combined to produce a subservience and shyness in their nature and tardiness to complain or appeal for help. The great majority suffer distress in silence and really outspoken St Helenians can be numbered on the fingers of one hand'. ... memories of slavery, fear of victimization at work, the monopoly of business by one company, and 'the aloof and often unimaginative rule of the Colonial Administration

over the years' have combined'
(Hughes, 1958, p. 2, cited in Cohen, 1983a, p. 122).

Royle administered a questionnaire to the schoolchildren on the island and discovered no one wanted independence (1991, p. 76). He found 'little entrepreneurialism within the island's young people' (2001, p. 217). Cohen argued that the education system on the island, that claimed to be aiming for 'less dependent minded' children, was actually counter-productive (Cohen, 1983a, p. 9). He argued that even if the teachers believe the education system can improve the aspirations and skills of the school children, this would be unlikely 'first, because the *raison d'être* for the original existence of the island has disappeared; second, because British colonialism cannot provide a legitimating ideology for its existence' (Cohen, 1983a, 26-27).

Cohen (1983a) thus claimed that a more complex reading of the St Helenian character is required. He argued the St Helenian character has been formed through a loyalty to the UK, a suspicion of British 'experts' and visitors, a cynicism of colonial officials, and a 'sense of resentment and helplessness in the fact of the adverse circumstances that confront them' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 122). More recently Lawrence (2002, p. x), a St Helenian herself, confirmed that the community remains one that is 'raised on subservience, and giving way to authority and others with elevated status'.

As discussed in the previous section, St Helena remains part of the 'permanent empire' (Drower, 1992) and an 'intractable colonial responsibility' (Gillett, 1983 p. 151). However, the links between the Island and its Mother Country have clearly become complex. On the one hand, the islanders are disempowered

within their own community. On the other hand, whilst the islanders remain dependent on British aid, they are economically secure and supported. They are fully aware of this (Royle, 1991, p 76). Thus, it could be argued that St Helena has, through no fault of the islanders, become 'Paradise on the Dole' (Winchester, 2003, p. 162).

A Ruptured Island Identity

As discussed at the beginning of this Prelude, the islanders have evolved from a mix of cultures. However, the various ethnicities have now 'blended together' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 24) and the islanders are now 'liquorice all sorts, which is all mixed up' (St Helena islander cited in Cohen, 1983a, p. 24). Moreover, the St Helenian population have officially been British citizens for centuries and currently exist via a British public economy. 'Most islanders are overwhelmingly St Helenian born, of British nationality and belong to the Church of England' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 21).

Many authors and academics have documented the 'Britishness' of the islanders over various stages in recent history (Cross, 1980, p. 92; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005, 102). Cohen (1983a, p. 22), for example, noted how the St Helenian school children demonstrated a firm recognition of their British ancestry yet ignorance to their African heritage. Cohen (1983a, p. 24) actually argued that the islanders disproportionately identified with their British ancestors. Years later, Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002, 6.11) noted the island's slaved ancestors

remained barely acknowledged, although representations of the slaves in chains were witnessed at the island's Quincentenary celebrations⁶. They argued that St Helenians display a proud yet 'outdated version' of a British identity and a firm sense of Britishness (2005, p. 101). However, pictures of the British Royal family in the St Helenians' homes have now dwindled (O'Bey, 2002, 8).

The Bishop of St Helena (1996, p. 57) stated that the St Helenian local identity and a British national identity exist *alongside* each other. In comparison, Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2005, p. 102) argued that the St Helenian identity *includes* Britishness. However, Moore (2000, p. 10) claimed that the St Helenian local identity is *dependent* upon a British national identity. Thus, many islanders do have a sense of British patriotism, and so their local and national identities are intertwined. However, they actually need their British identity, to secure their material existence (Moore, 2000, p. 10).

Within the Royal Charter of 1673, Charles II confirmed the St Helenians to be full citizens of the Kingdom of England (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 114)⁷. However, in living memory the islanders had their British citizenship rights taken away. This was due to the introduction of the 1981 British Nationality Act, an act which was 'probably illegal' because of the 1673 Royal Charter (Cohen, 1983a, p. 9). As a consequence of the 1981 British Nationality Act introduced by the Thatcher

⁶ At the Quincentenary Celebrations the St Helenians celebrated the 500 years since the island was discovered

⁷ This was supported by The 1948 British Nationality Act, which awarded any person within the British Commonwealth the right of abode in the UK (Moore, 2000, p. 1).

Government⁸, ‘at the stroke of a pen’ (Skinner, 2002b, p. 313), the British Dependent Territories lost their right of access into the UK as well as any right to a British passport⁹.

The Bishop of St Helena (1996) wrote a report called ‘The Lost County of England’ and accused the British Government of excluding St Helenians from their ‘mainland home’ (1996, p. 6). Similarly, Moore (2000, p. 10) also noted the islanders ‘symbolic rejection’ by the mainland. He summarised how it was the St Helenian’s ‘Britishness or Englishness’ that should have made them exempt from the 1981 Nationality Act (Moore, 2000, p. 13). The Bishop of St Helena (1996, p. 56) claimed that the St Helenians were undoubtedly British. He argued that the ‘colonisers’ and ‘colonised’ were of the *same* nationality’, and reaffirmed the St Helenian British identity by rejecting any acknowledgement of other ethnicities within a St Helenian identity.

Other than Ireland, St Helena was Britain’s first colony (Cohen, 1983b, p. 119) and because the Royal Charter pre-dates the ‘Act of Union with Scotland’ it could be argued that the St Helenians have more rights to Britishness than the Scottish (Moore, 2000, p. 11). From this perspective, Moore claimed, St Helena

⁸ The St Helenians rights as British citizens had been dwindling since the 1960s. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrations Act made it harder for any initial migrant from the Commonwealth, to be joined by his or her family at a later stage. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigrations Act started to prevent Commonwealth citizens with no blood ties already within the UK from settling in the UK, although this Act mainly targeted those from Asia and predominantly India. The 1971 Immigration Act required citizens of the Commonwealth with blood ties in the UK to seek work permits. The 1981 British Nationality Act shifted the status of the remaining Commonwealth to the status of British Dependent Territories. This shifted the status of the people of the Commonwealth with automatic British Citizenship, to people of the British Dependent Territories with no automatic British Citizenship (Moore, 2000, p. 2-3).

⁹ Some St Helenians retained their citizenship rights if they had migrated to the UK prior to the 1981 Act, or if their parents had been born in the UK

should be treated as a part of England rather than an Overseas Territory. He argued that the islanders do not perceive the UK to be their Motherland, but rather their mainland, and a political model similar to that of the Channel Islands would be more appropriate for the St Helenian community (Moore, 2000, p. 11).

For the first time in British immigration law, the 1981 British Nationality Act shifted British nationality from the principles of *jus soli*¹⁰ to the principles of *jus sanguinis*¹¹ (Cohen, 1995, p. 9). The Act was passed to prevent immigrants from Hong Kong entering the UK after Hong Kong was handed over to China in 1997 (Royle, 2001, p. 219). However, two of the British Dependent Territories were actually exempt from the Act, those being the white populated islands of Gibraltar and The Falklands. The Act has subsequently been referred to as racist (Moore, 2000, p. 3) and discriminatory (Cohen, 1983b, p. 123).

Within the previous section, St Helena was described as ‘Paradise on the Dole’ (Winchester, 2003, p. 162). However, the historical solution to the economic problems on St Helena had been migration (Cohen, 1983a, p. 2). In 1981, with the introduction of the British Nationality Act, the island as a paradise also became an island as a prison. Without a British passport the islanders’ long-standing option of migration was blocked. Travel without a visa or permit became almost impossible for the St Helenians. They have since had their rights returned to them, under the Blair Government, and in 2002 the St Helenians were once more entitled to a British passport and a right of abode in the UK. However, their psychological damage has

¹⁰ *Jus Soli* means those born onto a nation’s soil are citizens of that nation (Cohen, 1995, p. 9).

¹¹ *Jus sanguinis* mean those born to a nation’s blood are citizens of that nation (Cohen, 1995, p.9).

been documented (Royle, 2001, p. 219). The St Helenians felt hurt and devalued by the removal of their British citizenship rights (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002, 7.3.2), disillusioned and resentful (O'Bey, no date, p. 8).

St Helena: A Culture of Migration

Throughout the history of the island, various waves of travel have occurred. Up until the 1830s, travel to and from the island was commonplace for traders, military and slaves. The first recorded wave of migration *from* St Helena was in the 1830s, when some of the more socio-economically deprived islanders migrated to South Africa, following the transfer of the island from the East India Company to the British Crown (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 113). It was predominantly men who migrated to work in the copper or diamond mines (O'Bey, no date, p. 12). In the 1870s another wave migrated to South Africa, and to a lesser extent the UK (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 113).

Other waves of migration occurred due to the economic depressions on the island, which followed the two world wars. Many St Helenian men and women migrated to South Africa, the UK and Ascension Island. The UK became a popular destination for St Helenian migrants. For example, a popular *rite of passage* for St Helenian women was to work in service for the British gentry as 'domestics' (O'Bey, no date, p. 12). This started in the 1940s and continues to the present day. Moreover, 'One Hundred Men' migrated to the UK for employment as farm workers in 1949, at the request of the British Government (Yon, 2002).

Since World War Two both the UK and South Africa have introduced discriminatory barriers, such as an apartheid starting in the 1940s (South Africa) and a succession of nationality acts between the 1960s and 2002 (UK) (Moore, 2000, pp 1-3). By the 1980s migration to South Africa had ceased, and due to the 1981 British Nationality Act, migration to the UK had also radically reduced. Ascension and the Falkland Islands subsequently become popular destinations, and predominantly the only options.

Migration to Ascension Island had actually started in the 1920s, when Ascension offered one or two year contracts to St Helenian men (O'Bey, no date, p. 12). The British had originally taken over Ascension Island in the early 1800s, to strengthen their guard of Napoleon on St Helena (Cross, 1980, p. 155). By 1942, the Americans had been allowed to build an airport on this British island (Drower, 1992, p. 220) and employment on Ascension for young St Helenian men as contract labourers had become a popular option. They worked for companies such as Pan Am (American), NASA (American), Cable and Wireless (British) and the BBC (British). Due to employment prospects on St Helena being so dire, the islanders have become a 'stagnant pool of 'relatively surplus population'' willing to work on Ascension Island (Cohen, 1983a, p. 8). Moore noted the benefits of a cheap and willing labour force for the British and Americans. He also noted the St Helenians lack of rights on Ascension:

'They are treated as migrant workers and may be deported to St Helena. Migrant workers none the less do go to Ascension where it is claimed the BBC and Cable and Wireless pay very low wages. The agreement by which the USA established a base on Ascension is still secret but it was thought that some undertaking was given to local workers. The American military rely largely, in fact, on contractors from the outside dependencies (Moore, 2000, p. 9).

By the 1980s women were also offered employment on Ascension, and Ascension had become the ‘working island’ for St Helenians (Evans, 1994). Although there are schools and family houses on the island, Ascension has no ‘indigenous’ population of its own. Many St Helenians live on Ascension but most know they will at some stage in their lives, go back home to St Helena.

The Falkland Islands also provided more employment opportunities for St Helenians in the 1980s, and this was for men and women alike. The type of employment currently on the Falkland Islands and Ascension is very similar. St Helenians on both islands work on short-term contracts for the companies that are the current subcontractors who support the British and American forces and companies. These currently include Interserve, Serco and Sodexo, in addition to the Ministry of Defence. St Helenians tend to fill the positions of cleaners, domestics, catering and other unskilled, low paid jobs, although some have obtained skilled and managerial positions. Although wages on Ascension and The Falklands are low, St Helenians can earn more as a cleaner on these islands than when they are a qualified teacher working on St Helena (O’Bey, no date, p. 12).

Following the 1981 British Nationality Act, Ascension Island and the Falkland Islands became the main destinations for St Helenian migrants. However, some St Helenians continued to migrate to the UK due to the limited number of education permits and short-term work permits which could be applied for each year¹². Ironically, although the St Helenians were denied British citizenship, they remained

¹² Following the 1981 Nationality Act, St Helenians could obtain 2-year work permits which were often renewable. After working for approximately four years, a St Helenian could apply for permanent British citizenship. This was stopped in 1997 when the UK Work Permit Scheme was withdrawn altogether (O’Bey, no date, p. 8).

eligible to join the British Armed Forces between 1981 and 2002 ¹³.

In June 1990, 522 Saints were working on Ascension, 133 were working in the Falklands and 108 were in the UK (Royle, 1991, p. 67). In 1999, 600 St Helenians were on Ascension Island, 400 were on the Falklands, and approximately 300 were in the UK. There were also around 90 working on the ship (Royle, 2001, p. 217). Thus, despite the 1981 Nationality Act, 25 per cent of the working population of St Helena have managed to secure overseas employment (Royle, 2001, p. 217).

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002, p. 99) claim ‘people’ are the island’s greatest export. Moreover, remittances add to the income of the island, estimated to have been half a million in the 1980s (Royle, 1991, p. 67) and two million pounds per year by the turn of the millennium (Hogenstijn & van Middelkoop, 2002, 3.3.3). St Helena thus has a longstanding tradition of transnational relationships. Cross (1980, p. 100) made the point that even though children are often separated from their parents due to overseas employment, ties remain close, correspondence is constant, and parcels are frequently sent back to the island.

Since the return of British citizenship for St Helenians in 2002, islanders have been leaving at ‘an alarming rate’ (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2005, p. 103). In 1987 the St Helenian population was recorded as 5,644 (Development and Economic Planning Department, 1997), yet by 2003 it had reduced to 3,900 (St Helena Government, 2003). More recent counts have estimated it to have slightly risen to

¹³ In 2002, for example, 38 St Helenians were serving in the British Armed Forces (O’Bey, no date, p. 8).

4030 (St Helena Government, 2007)¹⁴.

Royle (2001, p. 128-9) made the point that a ‘death knell’ is sounded when a school is closed. In 1990 there were 7 first schools, 3 middle schools and a secondary school (Charlton & Gunter, 2002, p. 5). By 2006/7 there were 6 primary schools and one secondary school (St Helena Government, 2007). O’Bey (no date, p. 15) reported the conspiracy theory that a depopulated island is what Britain was secretly hoping for, in an attempt to end the obligation of supporting a territory which ‘for them has outlived its usefulness’. She recited a comical yet sinister phrase on the island which requests ‘will the last person leaving the island please switch the lights off’ (no date, p. 15).

Island life: The Documented Community

Lawrence, a St Helenian and once Chief Education Officer on the island, documented how the island has been going through political, economic and social change (2002, p. viii). Mass media is now available on the island, education has improved, cohabitation is more accepted, the role of the extended family is declining, the position of women is changing, and more family members are taking employment offshore (Lawrence, 2002, ix).

Lawrence however, confirmed that St Helena remains a close community with a strong ‘sense of belonging’. School children often find a family member or friend of the family as their teacher. She noted how everyone is in some

¹⁴ Although it should be noted that population figures can fluctuate if recorded at the end of the year, because many St Helenians travel home for Christmas

way connected to everyone, which creates a sense of ‘camaraderie and security reinforced by a watchfulness in the community’ (Lawrence, 2002, p. vii).

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2005) noted how St Helenians often leave the island to leave their ‘ghosts’ behind and that mistakes are rarely forgiven nor forgotten. Indeed, Lawrence (2002, p. viii) claimed expectations, labels and stigma can become attached to particular families, and islanders find themselves adopting the labels created and bore by their distant ancestors. However, O’Bey (no date, p. 5), also an islander, argued that the islanders do not tend to hold grudges.

Lawrence (2002, xi) described how on ‘ship day’, the arrival of the RMS to the island from Ascension Island, Africa or the UK, is an occasion that brings the islanders together. She described how many islanders gather at ‘The Wharf’ in Jamestown, the island’s only town, to greet homecomers. Similarly, when the ship is about to leave islanders gather to say goodbye. Lawrence (2002, p. xi) referred to such homecomings and farewells as a ‘part of a St Helenian heritage’.

‘The belief is as strong as ever that ‘to better oneself, one has to leave the island’. Although the island has so much to give in the way of quality of life, many still feel the need to leave and appreciate this quality from afar. Absence makes the heart grow stronger’ (Lawrence, 2002, p. xi).

Conclusion

This Prelude has demonstrated how between the early 1500s and the early 1900s, the historical processes of British imperialism and colonialism created what has now become the St Helenian community. This Prelude has also provided an overview of

the island's history, which has demonstrated that the island's original *raison d'être* and ideological significance no longer applies. The island has now become a British public economy, dependent upon a British Grant-in-Aid.

Schulenburg (1998, p. 111) noted how the island was never established as a colony but rather as a naval base, and so the island was never intended to be a place that would be self-sufficient. The East India Company, for example, spent almost ninety thousand pounds per annum on the island, for a return of less than seven thousand (Gosse, 1990, p. 301; Schulenburg, 1998, p. 111). Schulenburg (1998, p. 111) argued the island's standard of living remains to date, disproportionate to its resources. Considering the small size of the population, the Island currently remains expensive for the British taxpayer.

Since the island's dependency on the British Grant-in-aid, various British politicians and ex-pats have debated the issues that affect the island. For example, an airport and a breakwater, for economic and civic advantages, have been debated and discussed for decades. The same debates continue to be aired, often by experts or officials from afar, who often have no or very little first-hand experience of the Island.

In 2009, the following speech in the House of Lords, by Lord Jones of Cheltenham, demonstrated that not only do the same debates continue, but also they have become the dominant narratives for anyone discussing the island. The content of his speech suggests that relatively few people in the UK have an awareness of the island. His political speech to a British political audience is thus ironically yet

typically, introductory and superficial. Moreover, his use of the words ‘fraught with excitement’ illustrates that his language is embedded within the discourses of a colonial gaze, similar to that of Gosse, quoted at the beginning of this Prelude:

‘No government Minister has ever visited the island ... Occasionally cruise liners venture near the island, but for insurance reasons their passengers are often not allowed to disembark if the swell is too great ... There is no wharf on St Helena so disembarking is fraught with excitement. As a result of the difficulty of getting to and from St Helena, the island has no effective economy. As a British Overseas Territory, it is entirely dependent on an increasing subsidy from the British Treasury, the largest of any overseas territory. Over the last 25 years, the taxpayer has given St Helena more than a quarter of a billion pounds ... There are thousands of Saints in the United Kingdom with particular clusters in Reading, Swindon and Southampton, and we have 20 or so in my former constituency of Cheltenham. The local college, now part of the University of Gloucestershire, had an educational link with St Helena stretching back over several decades ... It was a great delight to learn just before the previous general election that the Government had decided to build the airport. The then Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn, made the announcement ... Then last December, the Government announced a pause in negotiations’

(Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, May 2009).

Although the history of the island and the contemporary economic and political status has relevance for this thesis, I do not intend to make judgements on the future of the island’s status, nor prescribe what the island requires or needs for the sake of its development or political-economic security. Instead, I will shift away from the dominant and rather stagnant public-narratives¹⁵ that speculate over the island. What is the concern of this thesis however, is the island community, currently

¹⁵ Somers (1994, p. 619) defined public narratives as generic stories that are used by people to subjectively and collectively make sense of events, reasons and occurrences. Public narratives are thus the generic stories about, for example, the class and economic positions of particular groups due to their trajectories over a period of time.

Somers (1994, pp. 618-19) compares public narratives to ontological narratives (stories which tell agents who they are, what they do, what their place is) and metanarratives (the master narratives or epic dramas that have existed within history such as capitalism, industrialisation, liberty).

in a stage of flux. This thesis has discussed how the St Helenian community, past and present, is one that has experienced various waves of migration. Similar to the experiences of their ancestors, a new wave of migration has occurred. This new wave of migration is to the UK, the mainland, and is due to the return of British Citizenship.

Since this new wave of migration from St Helena, in many ways the island has remained the same. The political and economic control of the British over the island continues, the Grant-in-Aid continues, and the plans for an airport are once more on hold. However, the island has also changed. Many more islanders have recently left the island. By migrating to the UK, rather than the working islands of Ascension or the Falklands, their return journey is not guaranteed. They have full British Citizenship and so could settle within the UK, and have the opportunity to earn more money than what was previously possible. Moreover, the difference between migration to the working islands of The Falklands or Ascension Island, in comparison to migration to the UK, is that only single people tended to migrate to the working islands whereas whole families now migrate to the UK. The St Helenians are thus currently experiencing a new period of rupture and uncertainty. I will now move on to discuss the specific questions of this thesis. Chapter one will start with an explanation of my involvement with the islanders, as a consequence of the Cheltenham educational link as discussed above, and how my specific research questions evolved. I will then move on to explain the *raison d'être* of this thesis.

CHAPTER 1: The Introduction

James, 70, on-island I think there is one thing ... and that is, how did this group of people, from an awful, awful background, from a really dreadful history, where we had slavery ... a very fractured society, from different ethnic backgrounds, how did this group of people arrive where we are now, with a common identity, ... I don't think people really evaluated this aspect of St Helena and the resilience and the resourcefulness of the St Helena people, I think that is part of what the people of St Helena are, and what they stand for, and part of what their identity is, which I don't think has been really appreciated

This quote captures the fundamental epistemological position of this thesis. Within this thesis I aim to explore the repertoires, idioms and symbolic practices that constitute what 'island life' and 'island identity' means for this specific island community. Within this thesis I intend to investigate St Helenianness.

Although the island has a unique history, a unique public economy and an unusual national identity, this thesis is not an investigation of an island, embedded within the discourses of a colonial gaze. I do not wish this thesis to be an investigation of the island as an exotic or quaint British 'other', which engages in unusual cultural practices, or is currently subordinate or passive, radical or revolutionary. Instead, this thesis is an investigation of the everyday 'normal' and 'mundane' practices that the islanders engage in, when up against the situations that the external 'outside world' imposes upon them. This thesis is an investigation of a small island community and the meanings they apply to their lives and their small island. However, before I move on to explain the focus of this thesis in more depth, I will provide an insight into how I actually became involved with the St Helena community.

Encountering the St Helenian Community

I am not an islander and I am not a St Helenian. However, when I say I am not an islander, what I mean is I have no island identity. As a British citizen I recognise that I am from the British Isles, and some British people identify with the identity of ‘an islander’¹⁶. However, I do not. I am a mainland British citizen.

Before 1998 I cannot recall having ever heard of St Helena. In 1998 a job advertisement was placed in the local newspaper that I applied for and I was the successful applicant. It was due to this new post that I was introduced to the Island. I was employed as a Research Assistant (R.A.) at the University of Gloucestershire for the then Head of the St Helena Link, Professor Tony Charlton. As head of The Link, Professor Charlton initially worked with the island at a time when the island did not have broadcast television. Once informed that the island was going to receive television in 1995, he started to collect pre-TV data on the children’s behaviour. The research was situated within educational psychology. Although the research was supported by interviews and accounts of Professor Charlton’s time spent on the island, the majority of the project utilised standardised and quantitative methods. The research became ESRC funded and the longitudinal research project, as well as my R.A. post, investigated the ‘Effects of Broadcast Television on Behaviour of 3- to 12-year olds in St Helena’. A brief overview of the research can be found in chapter two and my publication record from the project in Appendix E.

¹⁶ Those born on the Shetland Islands are British, and have a strong island identity due to being a Shetland Islander (Cohen, 1987)

The St Helena Link Office was founded in Cheltenham in 1969, at The Colleges of St Mary's and St Paul's, which is now the University of Gloucestershire. The 'Link Office' served as the educational link between the 'Mother Country' and the Island, which at the time was officially a British colony. Since The Link was established, one or two St Helenian teachers each year have been allowed to study for a Masters degree or undergraduate degree in Cheltenham, and an additional small number of teachers were allowed to come over each year for vocational teacher training. The Link Office was specifically responsible for the St Helenian students' and teachers' pastoral care, which included arranging travel, stipends, finding accommodation for their stay in the UK and monitoring their progress. After almost thirty years of the St Helena Link being at Cheltenham, the contract now belongs to the University of Wolverhampton.

In addition to my R.A. duties, during the eight years that I worked for Professor Charlton, I was on occasion requested to support the duties of the St Helena Link Office, thus involving me more closely with the St Helenian community. Over the years I have driven St Helenian teachers and students to and from the military airport, Brize Norton; assisted St Helenians with opening bank accounts in the UK; introduced teachers and students to bus and train travel; and made numerous cups of coffee and rooibos red tea for when a student or teacher needed some administrative support, or wanted a chat with a familiar face whilst on campus.

During the years that I spent working with the St Helenian community, I was repeatedly told by the islanders and those involved with the island, that the St

Helenians had their British citizenship rights taken from them in 1981 and subsequently they could not get off the island. However, most St Helenians that I spoke to appeared to be ‘well travelled’. Most St Helenians that I encountered had a history away from the island, in addition to their latest journey for their education in Cheltenham. Moreover, I became intrigued by their British nationality, whereby the geographical location of the UK, which ‘awards’ the islanders their national identity, is 4,500 miles away.

During the years that I worked within the St Helena Link Office, I obtained an insight into how the islanders’ British national identity was a complex national identity. Subsequently, the ideas and questions for this thesis emerged during the years that I worked alongside the St Helena Link Office. Since the Link Office has moved to The University of Wolverhampton, I have continued my personal links with the island for my PhD research. To collect my data I visited the island in 2006 and this will be elaborated on within Chapter Three. However, the following section of this thesis will now continue to explore the complex national identity that I started to witness whilst I worked alongside The Link in Cheltenham, and how my research questions have evolved.

St Helenians as ‘Non-legitimate’ British Citizens

The island of St Helena provides a rare insight into a state structured community that is an artefact of the British Empire. The island is a remnant of the British Commonwealth and remains a British Overseas Territory. The history of the island has proved that St Helena has experienced many shifts and ruptures over half a

millennia, as a consequence of their attachment to the mother country. This continues into the present day. In recent living memory, due to the denial of British citizenship in 1981 and its return in 2002, the islanders have experienced: significant shifts in their national identity; shifts in their employment patterns; shifts in their migration patterns; and shifts within community life on the island.

Although full and official British Citizenship has been returned to the islanders, St Helenians continue to be positioned as ‘others’ when in the UK. St Helenian immigrants soon come to realize that many of their British counterparts have never heard of St Helena. Moreover, when alongside their fellow British citizens, for example when studying at university or on placement in a school, a St Helenian is typically confronted with the speculation regarding why the UK continues to economically support the small island. What I witnessed during many St Helena Link activities, such as summer barbeques and Christmas buffets, was that a St Helenian overseas, will on occasion find themselves defending their community, albeit to well-meaning yet inquisitive new acquaintance. Through the discourses of a colonial gaze, a St Helenian may find themselves answering how they would feel if the UK enforced the depopulation of St Helena, like the Americans did with Diego Garcia. Similarly, they may find themselves answering how they would feel if they were ‘cut adrift’ from their Mother Country and no longer in receipt of the British Grant-in-Aid.

When listening to the conversations of the islanders, it was also clear that the islanders themselves were questioning the future of the island. I heard many islanders speculate that because the middle generations are leaving the island,

eventually only the retired and young will remain. This has induced the fear that the islanders are actually depopulating the island for themselves. This has further encouraged speculation regarding why the UK would continue to economically support an island, where the islanders themselves have indicated their desire to live in the UK. Subsequently, similar to the experiences of their ancestors, the St Helenian community are currently confronted with a new wave of speculation regarding the island's future.

Skinner (2002b, p. 308) stated that 'it is well known on Montserrat – by informal rumour rather than official policy – that if the population drops below the three thousand mark ... Britain will force an island evacuation on the remaining population'. Although I am not aware of such a specific rumour on St Helena, an 'undercurrent' of anxiety and speculation exists nonetheless. As we shall see as the thesis progresses, conspiracy theories, public narratives, generic mythology and speculation, each illustrate how uncertainty haunts the island. Such discourses must indeed fuel feelings of insecurity and helplessness. Moreover, the conspiracy theories and speculation regarding St Helena, demonstrates the distinct identity positions of two British communities. They are the mainland British and the St Helenian 'other'. In other words, the empowered and disempowered, the insiders and the outsiders, of a legitimate British national identity.

At the beginning of this chapter, I stated how I do not intend to make judgements on the future of the island's status, nor prescribe what the island requires or needs for the sake of its development or political-economic security. However, the structural and macro elements of the island cannot be ignored. This thesis is thus

concerned with how the macro fits into the micro, and how this state structured community, with a public economy and continued dependency upon its motherland, informs the St Helenian identity, their psyche and their St Helenianness.

As I will discuss within Chapter Two of this thesis, the literature currently available about the island of St Helena has provided, in an anthropological sense, a *thin* description of island life. The emphasis has been on a limited set of historical trajectories as well as the island's dependency on the UK. Any insight into the St Helenian community has tended to focus on their mixed ancestry as a consequence of colonialism, and their British national identity alongside their St Helenian local identity. It would not be fair to say that *all* existing literature on the island is somewhat superficial and simplistic. However, the existing literature tends to focus on certain limited 'facts' or trends of the island's history or economy, with the pervasive underpinning understanding of the islanders, as entirely subject to the contemporary postcolonial decision makers.

As will also be discussed in chapter 2, islandness is often attributed to the physical characteristics of small island communities. However, pertinent to this thesis is an investigation of islandness as the everyday meanings and experiences of St Helenians. This undoubtedly includes the conscious or unconscious psychology of uncertainty, which manifests itself as a consequence of being part of a small island community that is attached to a motherland. After all, St Helena has for the past five hundred years, been answerable to the decisions of the motherland and I will consider the ways in which this has contributed to St Helenianness and Islandness.

The quote by James at the beginning of this introduction however, poignantly evoked that there is more to St Helenianness than dependency. History and fracturedness may have constituted the St Helenians as a community rooted in tragedy, yet James noted the resilience and resourcefulness of this island community which has a common identity and a common understanding. This, James argued, is what the St Helena literature has never addressed. Moreover, this is what he as an islander, claims is required for a St Helenian centred understanding of St Helenianness.

Zontini (2004, p. 1114) summarised how migration scholars have moved away from an understanding of migrants as ‘passive victims’ in favour of an understanding of migrants as ‘social actors’. Moreover, she argued that a new approach to migration studies has evolved, which considers the complex processes of structure and agency, and investigates the ‘meso-levels’ for an understanding of how the micro of family life and social networks works alongside macro economic, political and social structures. Within this thesis I apply this approach to an understanding of island migration. This thesis is thus a cultural investigation of St Helenianness and islandness, which positions the experiences and feelings of the islanders at the centre of the research, and investigates how the islanders themselves negotiate their agency according to the structures of their community.

Investigating St Helenianness

This thesis thus intends to investigate the islanders’ agency alongside the formal and institutional structures of islandness and Britishness, in order to critically investigate

the St Helenian community as a culture that is constantly being worked at by the islanders themselves. There have been some studies undertaken on the island that position the St Helenian community at the centre, some of which were by islanders themselves (Lawrence, 2002; O'Bey, no date). However, these lack the critical eye of the trained social scientist, and the depth required to capture the nuance and complexity of island life.

This thesis is thus an investigation of the feelings, emotions, cultural values and symbolic practices, as narrated by the St Helenians themselves, at this moment in history. In other words, I am investigating what has too often been held as epiphenomenal in island studies. An understanding of that regarded as epiphenomenon, I argue, is essential for an understanding of the tools islanders have to draw upon, for manoeuvre, continuity and survival during periods of change and rupture. Within this thesis I thus investigate what is important to this specific island community. I investigate how they consciously and unconsciously manage and negotiate their future, through their life-choices, movements and practices, which demonstrate their resistance to rupture and their desire for the survival and continuation of their community.

This thesis thus aims to capture island life and the meanings in play that constitute St Helenianness, Britishness and islandness, for the St Helenian community. As we shall see, the St Helenian stories and repertoires provide testimony to the common and typical experiences, trajectories and emotions, which demonstrate the meaning of St Helenianness and islandness. Embedded within the islanders' narratives are their generic histories and heritage, which informs their

common identity and the common meanings in play on the island. This thesis aims to capture and contribute to an understanding of the uncertainty and restlessness, resistance and strength, dispersion yet boundedness, emotions and actions, that have become consciously and unconsciously part of what it means to be St Helenian.

The aim of this thesis is to contribute a cultural investigation of small island communities. This thesis is organised around three key research questions.

1- what are the narrative and discursive repertoires of St Helenians themselves and that inflect St Helenian identity?

2- what do these narratives of St Helenians suggest about the contemporary meanings of islandness, Britishness, post-colonial identities, culture and citizenship?

3- to what degree is a St Helenian identity maintained or transformed when overseas and through patterns of multiple migration, and what identity practices are invoked in this context?

Re-Positioning Small Island Research

Islands and islandness are the key terms that are investigated within this thesis. Migration, identity, Diaspora, transnationalism and citizenship are also common themes within this thesis, although I am not making my primary theoretical contributions to these fields. Instead, I am drawing on a range of interlinked and intersectional themes and critical resources from these literatures, in order to nuance my understanding of ‘islandness’ and my contribution to an ‘islands debate’. In particular this thesis aims to address the lacunae in the cultural dimensions of small

island research¹⁷.

Cultural perspectives that have explored the links between geography, identity and feelings, have influenced *large* island studies. Moreover, debates within migration studies, for example, have flagged up the importance of imagined communities and a sense of belonging for migrants. Such literature has also explored the ways in which geography can be notional and achieved discursively. However, a consideration of these issues with respect to *small* island studies remains at best sparse. The sparsity of research undertaken on small islands, which applies social and cultural approaches to understanding small island community and culture, will be explored in chapter 2 and my argument is that significantly more research is required for small island studies. Such research should consider the material experiences of migration and transnationalism, alongside the psychological experiences of a sense of belonging and imagined communities.

As will also be discussed in chapter 2, small islands tend not to be independent states and they are often answerable to the decisions of a mainland (or in the case of Britain a ‘main/island’). Thus, explorations of material and psychological relations in small island communities, also require explorations of

¹⁷ For this thesis I had to decide on the conceptual resources that would drive my research. Island literature and Migration Literature both appeared suitable. However, there was insufficient scope to thoroughly examine both sets of literature.

There is a wealth of literature already existing on Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism (see Brah, 1996; Cohen, 1999; Esmen, 2009; Portes & DeWind, 2007; Westwood & Phizacklea, 2000).

I subsequently decided that due to the paucity of culturalist literature within Island Studies I would examine the island literature, and the primary orientation and contribution of this thesis would be towards Island Studies.

ideology, power and identity in order to produce a more nuanced understanding of small islands, that goes beyond face value accounts and perceptions. This cultural approach to understanding the social world is where I situate my thesis.

This thesis contributes to knowledge in three ways. First of all, it contributes to knowledge on St Helena through its close documentation of a distinctive historical moment for the islanders, with respect to a new wave of migration which has resulted as a consequence of British law. Secondly, within this thesis I have adopted a form of cultural analytical triangulation, heuristically interlinking the theoretical concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin, to produce a nuanced materio-cultural understanding of the complexities of social, community and island life. As I shall argue and as this thesis will demonstrate, such analytical triangulation enables a complex intersecting examination of structure and agency, ideology and history, affect and intersubjectivity. Thirdly, this thesis contributes to knowledge with innovations of methodological approach to small island studies: namely an evocative amalgamation of traditional social anthropology with the more contemporary field of cultural studies.

Social Anthropology typically draws upon thick description and substantive, generalised truth claims, which presents a community through a thematic analysis of events or rituals, as witnessed and detailed through the eyes of the researcher. In contrast, key strands of theoretical work in the broad area of 'cultural studies', have developed forms of cultural interrogation that focus on small samples, repertoires and public narratives. Such a focus is not just for social psychological insights, but also for accounts of meaning making, nuance and

contradiction, with respect to questions concerning identity and intersubjective relations. This thesis thus argues the need for small island research to be based upon thick and rich data, which is then applied to a rigorous culturalist theoretical analysis. I argue that only through a post-structuralist understanding of language can nuance and complexity be recognized, with respect to individuals and their community. This thesis thus represents a mode of synthesis and articulation between the two fields of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies, for an understanding of the St Helenian community overall, as well as a more nuanced understanding of the complexities in play within their island lives.

Embedded within an ethnographic framework, the empirical data for this thesis consists predominantly of 68 interviews with members of the St Helenian community. Some interviews were undertaken with islanders who live on the island, and the other interviews were undertaken with islanders who currently live in the UK. Supporting this data I also draw upon my observations that I recorded when I visited the island in 2006, and also my experience of working with the community as a consequence of working within the St Helena link.

Using the stories and narratives of the St Helenians themselves, this thesis is an investigation of the everyday thoughts and feelings of the islanders, regarding their experiences and the practices that they engage in when up against the situations that the external ‘outside world’ imposes upon them. This thesis is an investigation of a small island community and the meanings they apply to their lives and their small island. An overview of this thesis can be found in the chapter outline below.

Chapter outline

The Prelude has provided the historical context of this thesis, and drawn upon history texts as well as a small number of social science journals to ‘set the scene’. Within the Prelude is a description of the island’s geographically distinctive and isolated location, as well as the island’s distinctive history and economy over the past five hundred years. Such history has demonstrated how the island’s community was an invention of British colonialism, and now the island remains a British island, supported by the British state. Moreover, the islanders have a downgraded British national identity, which fluctuates according to the decisions made within British law, and one that has created feelings of subordination, psychological dependency and uncertainty. Finally, the Prelude has demonstrated that the Island has a history of migration that has taken place at distinct stages. Thus, migration remains a historical and contemporary phenomenon, experienced by the St Helenian community of past and present. Many islanders currently work on Ascension Island and the Falkland Islands. However, since the return of British Citizenship in 2002, many islanders have migrated further away from the island, to the UK mother country / mainland.

Chapter 1 introduces the key questions for this thesis. I explain my involvement with the island and how the questions for this research have evolved. Moreover, it situates this research within a cultural framework and argues the need to investigate St Helenianness in a way which not only includes the unique historical, geographical and economic situation of the island, but also in a way which positions the community and culture at the centre of the investigation. Thus, this chapter explains how the stories and narratives of the islanders will be used to

investigate St Helenianness and islandness, at this most recent time of uncertainty and rupture. This chapter has also discussed how the island's economic dependency on the UK continues. However, due to the return of full British citizenship for the islanders, migration from the island has increased. This chapter has raised the conspiracy theories, speculation and public narratives that haunts the island.

Chapter 2 summarises the paradigms and epistemological frameworks that have influenced and contributed to island studies. It begins with the small island literature of the 1960s through to the 1980s, which was predominantly influenced by the debates concerned with the question of 'what is an island?' as well as policy making and development studies. Chapter 2 also examines the traditional anthropological studies on islands that are typically presented through thick description. The chapter also summarises the debates on what constitutes an island from the more contemporary literature that perceives islandness to be a metaphor or a laboratory. This chapter ends with an examination of culturalist studies, which have focused on larger islands and which have emphasised the importance of transnationalism, symbolic practices, imagined communities, identity and ideology. The chapter concludes the necessity of rethinking small islands theory, particularly in light of this 'culturalist turn'. The chapter concludes with an argument for this reconfigured small islands research to focus on a range of new questions. These included the affective dimensions of island identity as well as the relationship between state power and institutional structures, with more 'poststructuralist' considerations of agency, migrations, communal identity and intersubjective relations.

Chapter 3 presents the analytical, theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis. In light of my argument outlined above, where I argued for the reconfiguration of island research, chapter three introduces the analytical concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin. This is where I introduce and justify the triangulation of culturalist analytical tools that I have used. Within this thesis I heuristically interlink their analytical frameworks to produce a nuanced materio-cultural understanding of the complexities of island life.

Within this chapter I thus argue that the concepts of Althusser are required for a theoretical understanding of island structures and their overdetermined effects. Thus, the concepts of Althusser award purchase to an understanding of the islander's social consciousness formed through structures. In other words, the symbolic and imaginary relationship of individuals to their material conditions of existence will be investigated.

The concepts of Bourdieu are required to add further nuance to an understanding of identity formation. The analytical framework of Bourdieu thus provides purchase to a more complex understanding of how agents: adapt to new circumstance due to shifts in structures; how they negotiate their way through structures of feelings as well as rational choice calculus; and also how they must engage in paradoxical investments. Bourdieu thus awards the necessary insight into the emotional investedness of the islanders.

Plummer and Bakhtin's analytical frameworks provide the final elements to this constellation of analytical perspectives. Their concepts provide the purchase into

an analysis of collective feelings, collective identities and intersubjective connections. Through a more nuanced investigation of the islanders' language, narratives and stories, the analytical concepts of Plummer awards an insight into the public narratives of the islanders. These provide the truth claims and testimonies, which contribute to a collective St Helenian speech community. The analytical concepts of Bakhtin offer an understanding of how continuity occurs through language, as does the consciousness of the community. Thus agents draw upon pre-existing speech genres to reflect and react to new values and voices, whilst firmly embedded within the security of their community.

This thesis will use a symbolic interactionist framework. I thus explain that I will be using the four theorists in a symbolic interactionist way. This chapter also explores my use of the traditional approaches of social anthropology and thick description, as well as the culturalist approaches of repertoires and nuance. Within this chapter I also introduce my methodological framework of ethnography, the methods, the sample, the ethics and limitations of the research.

The following three chapters are where I theoretically investigate my primary data. Each of the three analysis chapters includes a consideration of ideology, structure alongside agency, and identity. Moreover each chapter examines the nuance and contradictions of life, as well as the conscious and unconscious actions and meanings of the islanders, as they negotiate themselves through the paradoxical investments of island life. The following three chapters complement each other as they investigate the depth, complexity, dissonance and consonance of the St Helenian community.

Chapter 4 draws upon the concepts of Althusser and investigates the narratives of the islanders for two purposes. First of all this chapter investigates the St Helenian narratives and stories, as anthropological testimony of the collective experiences of the St Helenian community. Moreover, through the stories this chapter investigates the constellation of effects embedded in, and accruing to, the state structured economy. The investigation thus raises the issues of dispersion, class distinction, hierarchy and power, exclusion and racism. The Marxist emphasis in Althusser, on both economic and state institutional forces, assists with the investigation of the islanders' discursive repertoires as well as the experiences of the St Helenians.

Secondly, chapter 4 investigates the St Helenian narratives to explore the more subtle meanings in play that feed into St Helenian identity formation and the state structured consciousness of the community. This chapter investigates the symbolic and imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of experience through their social consciousness, and how they have been hailed and interpellated. Within this chapter I will use a neo-Althusserian approach to Althusser's concepts. I thus recover the 'epiphenomenon' for the centre of this investigation and privilege a consideration of the state and economy as a heuristic and materially rich cultural analysis of the islander's feelings, emotions and values that have occurred due to the state and economic structures.

Chapter 5 further nuances the investigation into the collective experiences and testimonies of the St Helenian community. Using the analytical concepts of

Bourdieu, this chapter investigates the migratory trajectories of the St Helenian community, as a consequence of the *space of possibles*, which determines the opportunities available to the islanders. Additionally, this chapter investigates the emotional investedness that the islanders engage in, as they negotiate themselves through paradoxical investments. Within this chapter I thus further the investigation of the material and psychological structures on the island, with an investigation of the intimate relationship between structures, and the rational choice calculus of rational agency and feeling agency. I interrogate the narratives for the complex feelings and experiences of the islanders, as they shift the habitus in tandem with the *space of possibles*.

Paradoxical decisions are inharmonious and incompatible struggles, but within their stories the St Helenians illustrate that they need to engage in such journeys for themselves, their families and for the continuity of the St Helenian community. Their narratives reveal how the islanders negotiate their complex British national identity to assist them with new opportunities and new freedoms. Bourdieu's analytical framework thus provides the purchase into the complexity of trajectories and the fuzzy parameters of structure and agency. This chapter argues how, for the islanders life is thus 'a game' of existence, survival, and one that manoeuvres the boundaries in an attempt to enable change and utilise new opportunities.

Chapter 6 moves on to the work of Plummer and Bakhtin to add a final chapter of nuance to the islanders' collective experiences and testimonies. Using the analytical tools of Plummer, I further interrogate the St Helenian stories for the

public narratives and generic stories of the community. In other words, I identify some of the dominant stories of the islanders, which provide not only the ‘truth-claims’ and testimony of the islanders, but also reflect what is deemed as important to the islanders now. This section of this chapter specifically investigates how the collective history of the island has formed part of the islanders’ ideological consciousness. History has thus provided a rhetorical platform that the islanders use to argue who they are and where they have come from. The public-narratives and generic stories on the island illustrate that the St Helenians are a distinct and intact speech community. This is because they articulate idiosyncratic cultural knowledge of the island’s stories, often without first-hand experience. Moreover, using the work of Plummer, I argue through the use of the islander’s stories, emotions are often expressed symbolically, without words, and through interaction.

Within this chapter I also draw upon the analytical concepts of Bakhtin, where I continue to investigate the St Helenian community as a speech community. Using Bakhtin, I deconstruct the stories for an understanding of how the past, present and future have all come together to form one voice, and that is the voice of the contemporary St Helenian community. Within the community voice, or the community consciousness, is a blend of voices that forms the ideological consciousness. Complementing the concepts of Plummer, the Bakhtinian concepts demonstrate how agents draw upon the words of others to create their own words, and evaluate, reflect, react and rhetorically persuade. Thus, multiple voices and ideological positions, from across time and space, unobtrusively blend together. This thus enables change to subtly take place within a community’s psyche, yet simultaneously retain a sense of intactness and continuum, even when confronted

with rupture. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates the collective consciousness of the St Helenian people, as they evaluate who they are, and where the community should be going. The analytical tools of Plummer and Bakhtin will thus award purchase to an understanding of the common bonds, identities and meanings for this distinct island community.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and answers the key questions of this thesis as identified earlier in this chapter, as a consequence of a final integration of the constellation of analytical approaches. This chapter concludes the key findings of this research regarding the contemporary meanings of St Helenianness, islandness and Britishness for this specific island community.

Within chapter 7, I unpick the conspiracy theories and assumptions that claim the islanders are experiencing a rupture as a consequence of migration. I argue that the current wave of migration is merely the most recent wave of migration for the islanders and that for the islanders continuity is composed of a discourse of rupture. However, I also argue that the removal of British citizenship in 1981 was what created a significant and continuing rupture, which continues to the present day. As a consequence of the 1981 British Nationality Act the islanders' ideological understanding of their own identity was weakened. Thus, I argue that the St Helenian identity has shifted away from Britishness and more towards an abstract sense of identity.

Within this chapter I also argue that the St Helenian identity is not an offshoot of the British national identity, but rather it is a hybrid identity that carefully

and subtly, manages and negotiates Britishness within this identity. Moreover, I clarify the islanders' relatively new willingness to articulate their multicultural heritage. Thus, the rejection of any other culture other than a British culture clearly no longer exists on the island, and although the islanders continue to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism to Britain, the St Helenian community are no longer ignoring history and instead they are embracing other aspects of their past cultural identities. I thus argue that the St Helenian identity is durable, reflexive, reactive and interactive. This enables change and movement, structure and agency, continuity and discontinuity, closeness and dispersal to exist within this consciously intact community, even at a time of supposed rupture.

CHAPTER 2: Islands & Islandness: The Dominant Paradigms

Introduction

This chapter will provide a critical overview of the different and often opposing schools of thought that have influenced, or even at times dominated, 'island studies'. Supporting the work of Hay (2006), I will similarly suggest that 'island studies' is, at present, an arena of debate characterised by a lack of coherence, both in terms of substantive parameters of study and in terms of methodological and analytical approach. Hay has suggested the need for island studies to become a 'phenomenology of islands' (2006, p. 19), by which he meant that knowledge on islands should derive from lived experience, which demonstrates 'ideologically-coded' understandings of identity, place and relationships (2006, p. 31). Hay's position is one I support and one to which this thesis is intended to contribute. This thesis aims to undertake a nuanced and complex understanding of the deeper unifying themes of islandness, including those of attachment, rootedness and intersubjective identifications, brought to bear on questions of nationalism, migration, transnationalism, islands and islandness.

This chapter will start with an overview of the paradigms and schools of thought that have dominated small island studies, and then move on to a selected exploration of cultural geographic research on larger islands that represent the deeper analytic engagements Hay has called for (2006, pp. 31-34). The chapter will conclude with a sample of cultural research that has investigated issues specifically pertinent to St Helena.

The Problem with Island Studies

Island studies became unpopular at the turn of the twenty-first century. King (2009) has suggested a number of reasons for this including: the smallness of islands and the consequent view of both islands and island research as insignificant; the stigma of being embedded within the discourses of a 'colonial gaze'; the false assumption that island studies could be and should be generalised to mainland societies; the false assumption that islands should be romanticized and regarded as unique; and the stigma for the researcher who is accused of disguising a holiday as research (King, 2009, p. 5). Subsequently, literature on small islands remains 'driven by ... mock simplicity' (Baldacchino, 2004, 2).

In response to island studies not being taken seriously or having a dedicated space for the dissemination of research, the editor Baldacchino founded the *Island Studies Journal* in 2006. Previous to this, research on islands had been spread across a variety of journals (Baldacchino, 2006, p. 8). On occasion a journal would have a rare edition dedicated to islands, but the general trend was that the island location of the research tended to be rendered incidental in comparison to the actual topic of the research (Baldacchino, 2006, 8). Yet as Baldacchino (2004, p. 2; 2006, p. 3) has emphasised, 10% of the world's population live on islands (550 million people) and thus, he has argued, a distinct body of literature that focuses on islands is required, not necessarily with its own methodology or even as a distinct discipline, but rather one which provides the space for critical inquiry of an inter-disciplinary nature (2006).

Although Baldacchino (2006, p. 11) called for a dedicated space for the dissemination of island literature, a substantial and an established body of literature on islands exists nonetheless, and the dominant paradigms and epistemological frameworks have been well documented by others. For example, Hindmarsh (1996, p. 1) has noted that two theoretical approaches have dominated island literature. They are the positivist approach which examines island status as something that is objectively measurable through population size, geographical size and geographical characteristics, and the social constructionist approach which regards a state as small, autonomous and an island, but only if its members believe so. Similarly, Pitt (1985, p. 30-31) has set out a taxonomy of three contestatory approaches to island studies. Firstly there are the empiricists who focus on small, or relatively small groups, for the purpose of observing interaction. Secondly there are the rationalists who view 'smallness' as something that exists only if 'smallness' forms part of the islanders' identity. Finally, there are the networkers, who don't necessarily consider islands as geographical units, but rather as networks of people linked by telecommunications and subsequently those in the homeland form only part of the population (Pitt, 1985, p. 32).

Hay (2006, p. 27) noted the juxtaposition whereby islands tend to be romanticised as paradise, yet at the same time cut-off and prison-like. Moreover, he also summarised the trends that currently dominates island studies. Such trends are the focus on islands as a specific space, islands as global networks, and the focus on islands as metaphors.

The term Nissology has become used within small areas of island literature (see Baldacchino, 2008; Hay, 2006). The term was originally defined by McCall (1994), to argue the need that islands should be studied ‘on their own terms’ (cited in Baldacchino, 2008, p. 37). However, McCall’s work prioritized a scientific approach and referred to an islander identity as though it were hegemonic (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 46). Hay (2006, p. 31) considered this rather ironic for a field of study where migration, globalization and multiple identities are dominant concepts.

The term Nissology has since been redefined and clarified to refer to the studying of islands, not only on islander’s terms, but with them, for them and by islanders themselves (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 37). This involved a shift away from discourses of mainland and conquest, and onto providing islanders with a platform to voice their own narratives. Baldacchino (2008, p. 38) acknowledged that this redefinition also remains loaded with problems. This is because in a world characterised by migration, movement and multiple identities, the distinctions between an islander as an *insider*, in contrast to an islander as an *outsider*, are not clear. Such distinctions can induce a form of prejudice and exclusion. Baldacchino (2008, p. 47) thus uses the work of Clifford (1997) to conclude that island studies should ‘confront island roots with island routes’. By this he argued, island scholars should investigate and aim to understand islanders’ needs to ‘escape’; become connected rather than isolated; and the emotional pain that occurs due to the migration process (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 47). Subsequently, Baldacchino (2006, p. 9) calls for a need to unpack the term islandness, for an understanding of islands.

This chapter has so far introduced the paradigms and trends that have dominated island research, and in particular the research on small islands. I will now move on and provide a more detailed and critical overview of such paradigms and trends. I will start with the body of literature that belongs within the empiricist paradigm and the post-colonial, development focused tradition. I will then move on to the qualitative and anthropological approaches that researches islands through thick description. I will then shift the focus to an understanding of islands as a laboratory, which has been popular within a scientific framework, as well as a culturalist framework, that uses the word island in a metaphorical sense. I will then conclude with an examination of a selection of cultural geographic research that has tended to focus on larger islands. Such island research has explored investigates islands and islandness alongside attachment, rootedness, identity, nationalism and migration.

Empiricism, Size and Development: The Colonial Imaginary

The body of literature that appeared to dominate small island studies between the 1960s through to the 1990s has been that which questions what a small island actually is (Hindmarsh, 1996, p. 1). This debate has been summarised by many island scholars (Dommen, 1985; Hindmarsh, 1996; Shaw, 1982), but has been rendered as somewhat redundant in favour of other approaches to island studies because it remains ‘contested’ (Hay, 2006, p. 20) and ‘inconclusive’ (Skinner, 2002a, p. 209).

Dolman, for example, defined a small island as ‘a territory surrounded by

a large body of water with a land area of less than 5,000 sq. miles (13,000 sq. km.) and a population of one million or less' (Dolman, 1985, p. 40). Hindmarsh (1996, p. 2) however, has noted how 'cut off points' regarding population size have shifted over time and whereas they fell between 5 and 15 million in the 1960s, they had reduced to 3 million in the 1970s and 1 million by the 1990s. Thus, 'the definition of a small island is a matter of interpretation rather than fact' (Dolman, 1985, p. 40). Moreover, the lack of an actual definition on what a small island actually is, has created as much of a problem for islands as the actual geographical characteristics of the islands themselves (Royle, 2001, p. 8).

Since the 1960s, seminars, conferences and Commonwealth politicians have debated what is a small island, alongside the economic problems of small islands, in an attempt to devise development policies (Hein, 1985, pp. 18-22). The dominant body of small island literature between the 1960s and 1990s was thus embedded in the paradigm of development, and the concepts of 'small' and 'problem' formed part of the ideological position (Hindmarsh, 1996, pp. 1-2). Such ideology served the interests of the dominant, and contributed to the colonial and post-colonial processes of exploitation (Pitt, 1985, p. 31; Hindmarsh, 1996).

Royle (2001) highlighted the postcolonial language that was used to describe small islands, whereby 'colony' incorporated negative connotations of white exploitation over non-white subjects, yet the shifts from 'colony' to 'dependency', and then to 'overseas territories', are also loaded with hierarchies of inequality and positions of power. Subsequently, many colonies obtained independence between the 1950s and 1970s, sometimes to their economic and political detriment, simply to end

their psychological feeling of inferiority (Kashou, 1997, cited in Skinner, 2002b, p. 305). Royle (2001) provided an example of absolute power by highlighting how the islanders on the British Territory of Diego Garcia were removed from their homeland so the Americans could set up their military base. History has thus proved, in a variety of ways, that island cultures are perceived as insignificant and disposable:

‘Whole islands have been purchased, thus Denmark sold three of the Virgin islands – St Thomas, St John and St Croix – to the USA in 1917, ridding their state of a financial burden, the Americans gained a strategic asset. Islands have even been swapped’
(Royle, 2001, p. 141)

Poor transport links alongside longer shipping distances are often the variables that prevent development (Dolman, 1985, p. 43; Royle, 2001). For example, some of the Pacific and Caribbean islands have seen their services deteriorate, making them more dependent now than they were one hundred years ago (Dolman, 1985, p. 43). Thus, alongside connotations of insignificance, ‘Mother Countries’ and mainlands signify the real insignificance of ‘their’ islands when they are often reluctant to cover the costs of development. Islands have been denied port installations or airports, because there are no guarantees that the improvements will have a viable economic return for the island through, for example, tourism (Doumenge, 1985, p. 101).

The future of islands is therefore not a positive one because development strategies offer no real prospects and any dependence on aid is high-risk (Dolman, 1985, p. 53). Moreover, the juxtaposition between understanding islands as small

and insignificant, yet at the same time understanding islands within the romantic discourses of being idyllic, poses a problem in itself:

‘Small island countries have yet to prove that they are a ‘special case’. To many in the West – and indeed large parts of the Third World – the island regions are regarded as the nearest thing on earth to paradise ... Compared to Sub-Sahara Africa and the Indian sub-continent, for example, all appears well’.
(Dolman, 1985, p. 53).

A body of literature thus exists on small islands, with the definition of ‘small’ forming the prominent analytical priority. This has often detracted scholars’ attention from concentrating on the actual needs for development and instead contributed further to post-colonial discourses. The dependency theory debates, the scholarly contributions to development strategies and the post-colonial arguments, have thus centred on the issues of smallness, insignificance, problems and requirements. As a result they appear to have fallen into an academic deadlock and the debates on what constitutes a small island appear to be futile. Definitions based upon population size and geographical size have now been rendered as incidental and worthless for when progressing the needs of small island communities.

The Quantified Island and the Authoritative Voice

Many island academics have clearly positioned themselves away from the debates on size for the sake of what they would describe themselves as more worthy contributions to island studies. However, their work remains embedded within an empiricist paradigm that wishes to quantify islandness. Such island academics have called for a need to recognise other small island characteristics, which render small

islands typically different from any large island or mainland. Thus there was a call for a shift away from quantitative indicators of smallness to quantitative indicators of islandness. Small island indicators include: limitations in natural resources; distance from markets; a narrow range of local skills; a heavy dependence on aid and external institutions; prone to natural disasters (Dolman, 1985, pp. 41-421); vulnerable to market changes; high transport and freight costs; a lack of competitiveness; a lack of skilled labour; high state induced costs (Baldacchino, 2002, p. 351).

For those island academics remaining within this more implicit empiricist and developmental paradigm, they continue to hold the authoritative voice regarding what island characteristics actually are as well as what an islands' needs are. Subsequently, a body of island literature thus exists, that does not explicitly state a particular methodological position. Rather it appears policy driven and implicitly supported by, for example: locally produced statistics; local Government papers; ecological characteristics; the economic situation; in addition to the researcher's/academic's own personal ethnographic perceptions of island life following a field visit. In many ways, this pseudo-empiricism is understandable because quantification is often impossible within island communities due to particular constraints, yet necessary within this empirically driven paradigm.

In comparison to mainland societies for example, confirmatory statistics and data on island communities are often limited. The UNCTAD Secretariat (1985) stated that migration is higher for islands than continental countries, and more islanders move overseas than remain in their homeland. However, the UNCTAD Secretariat also stated how statistics on migration and Diaspora are difficult to

collect and subsequently are unreliable. Moreover, islands suffer from ‘periodic and seasonal swings’ (Royle, 2001, p. 11) and benefit from ‘invisible earnings’ (Doumenge, 1985, p. 100). These factors make the quantification of island characteristics awkward.

Many island researchers thus draw upon the tools that they have, whether secondary, anecdotal or ethnographic. They clearly wish to demonstrate their ‘measured’ knowledge of island life, and work within empiricist and scientific discourses, and so their actual method of data collection often remains undisclosed. Many island academics make statistical claims simply because they know them to be true, without the support of any apparent quantifiable evidence. Such claims include, for example, immigrants can exceed the number of resident islanders (Doumenge, 1985, p. 86) and those who leave their island tend to be the better educated or more entrepreneurial (Dolman, 1985, p. 48). Remittances, migration trends, and island resources are often quoted in island studies literature, yet as previously stated, quantifying this evidence is often difficult, if not impossible. Subsequently, many island academics have rejected any reliance of statistical and quantifying indicators altogether.

Thirty years ago, in her study on the Highlands and the Islands, Lumb (1980, p. 626) argued that small community researchers needed to devise methods that capture the complexity of small communities. She argued that migration statistics alone cannot explain community characteristics and as an example argued against the commonly held assumption that those who remain in the homeland are those most likely to invest more time in their community. She demonstrated that for small

communities, statistics and generalisations are an insufficient mode of enquiry as slight shifts in migration patterns can cause a community significant change (1980, p. 626).

Islands as Thick Description

In direct contrast to the empirical studies that have focused on the need for change, development and quantification, there are anthropological studies that have collected rich ethnographic data, some of which are over 80 years old yet nonetheless remain regularly cited within island literature. For example, Malinowski's (1922/1984) work on the Trobriand Islands in the archipelago off New Guinea was an ethnographic study that collected data over six years. Malinowski gathered an understanding of the islander's language, their daily routines, ceremonies, use of magic, their spiritual beliefs and their use of myth to legitimise events. Malinowski recorded all observations in diaries and records, participated in daily life with the islanders and collected numerical data. In general, the study recognised:

‘The totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community, for they are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all of the others’
(Malinowski, 1922/1984, p. xvi).

Similarly, Mead's (1930/1970) detailed ethnographic study on adolescent girls in the Pacific Island of Samoa was an attempt to contribute to a new phase of interest in psychology and youth, that focused on manners, courtesy, ethical standards and morality. Mead rejected standardised quantitative methods and collected data on 50 girls noting their family size, family socio-economic position, as

well as observing them interacting and reacting within their own social environments.

Both of these studies have been heavily criticized for their perceived Westernised superiority (Cohen, 1987, p. 132) and are now considered empirically redundant and outdated. Malinowski (1922/1984, p. 12), for example, considered his ethnography to be scientific and Mead (1930/1970) included the term ‘primitive societies’ in the title of her book. Nonetheless, they paved the way for the collection of rich, thick data on the complex nature of island life.

Since these studies, anthropology has established as a respected discipline in its own right, shifting away from a colonial gaze and towards seeking depth, richness and an understanding of the complexity of human life (Eriksen, 1995, p. 9). Eriksen (1995) thus positions anthropology as being the study of the relationship between society and culture, with a focus on the symbolic within, for example, kinship, marriage, gender, age, class, politics, power, religion and rituals.

Within the introduction to the special journal edition ‘Managing Island Life’, Skinner’s (2002a, p. 206) anthropological study, specifically focused on the formal (sovereignty, nationality, ideology and political decisions) and informal (social events, celebrations, sports) relationships that are necessary for maintaining and managing social life on the small island of Montserrat. He noted how ‘repeated interactions’ between islanders are required in such small communities, and he gave the example that the same person may adopt a number of roles such as, for example, a neighbour, the bank manager, the church prayer leader, a golfer, drinking partner

and Police Commissioner (2002a, pp. 210-212). Skinner (2002a, p. 212) claimed that having such multiple roles and paradoxical interactions is a normal function for small island life. This can make the 'psycho-social' relations incredibly challenging (Skinner, 2002b, p. 308). Similarly, Royle (2001, p. 176) documented how one islander, on the Inner Hebrides island of Gigha, had 14 part-time jobs including a 'shopkeeper, postmaster, petrol pump attendant, undertaker, ambulance driver, taxi driver, harbour master, constable and firefighter'. Royle noted how on the mainland each of these jobs would be undertaken by just one person, but because of the resource base, the economy and the services have to be scaled down.

Skinner (2002b, p. 306) referred to Montserrat, as a 'muted society' where meaning can often only be expressed in informal culture such as in writing or dance, often only understood at a local and informal level. Skinner gave the example of the Deputy Governor, a local man who indirectly mocks his formal position via comedy. Skinner (2002b, p. 307) drew upon the work of Baldacchino (1997) to explain how islanders have become experts at silencing their hostility. Drawing upon the analytical tools of Bourdieu, Skinner claimed they do this within a 'habitus' of informal skills (2002b, p. 307). Such hostility is not just directed at expats and visitors but also to fellow islanders themselves. Within such small communities, islanders learn the skill of 'preserving divisions' between themselves and the people they regularly interact with, because private and public distinctions, as well as formal and informal roles, need to be maintained (Skinner, 2002a, p. 212). Skinner used the words of Weale (1992) to explain how some islanders are able to 'shrug off 'the straight-jacket of community surveillance'' (Weale, 1992, p. 9, cited in Skinner, 2002a, p. 308). In contrast, other islanders 'feel the claustrophobia of conformity'

(Skinner, 2002a, p. 308).

Twenty years previously, Richards (1982, p. 166) questioned the nature of life in small societies and in particular political life. He noted that feelings of collective identity and community are enhanced within small islands, but divisions do occur and they are intensified, so it is essential that people get on. Subsequently, the demonstration of a particular set of values, beliefs and goals, becomes essential (Richards, 1982, p. 166). He makes the point that ‘in a society where ... ‘everyone knows everyone else’’ the public and the private become blurred. The personal lives of politicians and religious leaders come under scrutiny, as does the relationships these individuals have with other members of the community. Moreover, a ‘standardised exterior’ is required for islanders to present to outsiders, thus illustrating solidarity within the island community (Richards, 1982, p. 170). Thus, a strong sense of similarity is what provides island communities with a sense of belonging up against the difference of those who are outsiders (Eriksen, 1993, p. 143).

Levitt’s (2001) ethnographic research on the Dominican Republic¹⁸ and the Dominican Diaspora in Boston, USA, provides a rich and deep account of migration and transnationalism. Levitt spent 3 years undertaking fieldwork and her detailed work places contradictions at the heart of Diasporic life. She included a wealth of data on the issues of, for example: gender and class relations; migration without children; economic remittances; social and economic capital; blocked mobility; rituals; normative structures; loyalty; technology; relations between the home and

¹⁸ a nation that shares the *large* island of Hispaniola with its neighbouring country Haiti

the hostland; family ties and relationships; power; and identities, behaviours and ideas. Moreover, she noted how 'ides, behaviours, identities, and social capital' (Levitt, 2001, p. 54) are transported back to the homeland through what she termed *social* remittances. Levitt ends her study arguing a need for more studies on transnational communities that examines the transnational relationships of ordinary people.

Within her work on transnational Italian and Caribbean families, Zontini (2007, p. 263) drew upon the work of Levitt and her term of social remittances to acknowledge that social capital, in other words, 'networks and solidarity' within families, becomes a transnational process. Similarly, Zontini adopted Levitt's term of cultural remittances to illustrate how emotions and feelings, such as attachment to kin and place, determines social actions such as cultural rituals or the owning of property in the homeland as well as the hostland.

Zontini and Reynolds (2004, p. 1114) defined transnationalism as a concept that migration scholars use when acknowledging that migration patterns are not necessarily one way, but rather an on-going process that involves two or more countries. Moreover, King defined transnationalism (2009, p. 62) as migrants who continue to engage with the homeland through visits, remittances, and close communication with kin. Thus, returning back to a consideration of small islands, King (2009, p. 68) claimed 'the small-island context allows close study of multiple migration processes and their interactions', yet there are few studies that actually answer the necessary questions of small island communities. King argued that there are many diverse migration types and 'actor groups' such as: the islander who never

moves away; the islander who moves within their home archipelago; emigrants who make regular visits home; migrants who once left but have now returned home to settle; tourists and wealthy immigrants who have settled on the island as their hostland; and low socio-economic migrants seeking asylum or refuge on the island (2009, p. 68). King thus raises the need for more research to be undertaken on the diverse types of migrants and argues that small islands provide the spaces to address this (2009, p. 68).

This section has provided some insight into the traditions of rich, thick description, and provided an overview of island studies that belong within the discipline of anthropology and the traditions of ethnography. This chapter will return to these traditions once more. However, before this chapter concludes with some examples from cultural geographers, it will cover one more paradigm that has dominated island studies, and that is the use of islands as laboratories and metaphors.

Islands as Laboratories and Metaphors

In addition to studying islands through the desire to quantify, or through the lenses of anthropology, there are also bodies of literature that perceives the purpose of island studies to be for an ability to generalise far beyond the specific boundaries of a geographical island. This can be done either in a scientific way, or in a more cultural and metaphorical way.

Darwin, for example, perceived islands to be like individual laboratories and the term ‘island’ has been used to describe isolated gene pools and closed eco-

systems. Anthropology has also, at times, portrayed small-scale societies to be bounded social systems (Royle, 2001). Any notion of any society or culture being a closed system has been criticised as outdated and that a geographical island is no more isolated in socio-cultural respects than any other place (Eriksen, 1993, p. 134). Nonetheless, plenty of academics and island scholars continue to refer to islands as laboratories.

Hennessy (1993, p. i) referred to Trinidad as a ‘laboratory for the study of the relationship between race and class and for the ways in which ethnicity becomes publicised’. Similarly, the cultural geographer Hardwick (2003, p. 70), referred to Galveston, Ellis Island of Texas, as a ‘virtual laboratory for geographical analysis’ because the economic, cultural and social boundaries between the groups of people on the island are symbolically evident in space and place. King (2009, p. 75) also argued that islands could serve as a ‘privileged laboratory’ that examines the migration control within the processes of global relations and global politics.

Bjarnason (2010, p. 220) specifically referred to the large island of Iceland as a spatial and connected laboratory, whereby rather than seeing an island as a closed system, actor network theory can illustrate how an island is a connection of associations and linkages, and thus cannot be a fixed island. He demonstrated this with the recent example of the volcanic eruption and argued that an ‘island imagination’ is formed and re-formed through connections with others (2010, p. 221). Given that Iceland is such a large island, and arguably a laboratory that symbolically represents networks in a global world, the whole nature of what is an island is once again being explored. After all, when questioning what constitutes an

island, Hindmarsh questioned, 'is Australia an island, but a large one? Or Britain? Or Aotearoa New Zealand? What about Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica? Or Iceland, Japan and Taiwan? (1996, p. 2).

Regardless of size, islands can be more than laboratories that examine fixed spaces with fluid boundaries. Within the introduction to the special journal edition 'Managing Island Life', Skinner (2002a, p. 206) summarised the work of Eriksen (1993) to question 'in which sense do cultural islands exist?' Skinner clarified that the aim of the journal was to move beyond any defined boundaries and the 'inconclusive 'size matters' island debate' set by previous island scholars, as well as development and policy debates. Instead, Skinner wished to broaden the debates to include psychological, analogical and immaterial phenomena (2002a, p. 209).

Rapport (2002, p. 218) for example, made the point that with the rise of suburbanisation, geographically distinct communities may be declining, but the psychological experience of living within mainland urban spaces may be island-like. He quoted Edmund Leach (1977, cited in Rapport, 2002, p. 230) to illustrate the paradox of modern society, whereby increasingly large populations may be embedded within the same social structures, yet lead increasingly isolated or 'island-like' lives. Rapport noted how as economic and political homogeneity increasingly undermines geographical distinctiveness, identities become more symbolic and 'geophysical islands of experience are replaced by symbolic and cognitive ones' (Rapport, 2002, p. 230). Moreover, Rapport (2002) drew upon the works of a novel, which does not focus on a geographical island but instead focuses on a child. Within this novel the child exerts characteristics of 'islandness', as he individually

transcends through life within a variety of everyday interactions. Rapport (2002, p. 231) draws upon the concepts of Bakhtin, such as heteroglossia, whereby multiple voices come together as one. This, he argues, demonstrates his use of the island metaphor. As isolated units, yet with multiple and influential connections, each single child is an island with displays of 'islandness' Rapport, 2002, p. 231).

Similarly, in his study on Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan, Omoniyi (2000, p. 5) noted how the literal definition of an island is to be surrounded by water, and that this is true of the three states in his study. However, Omoniyi chose these islands within his work because they constitute socio-linguistic islands. He wished to use the concept of an island metaphorically to demonstrate how islandness implies being detached, insular, remote, small, separate and weak. Omoniyi (2000, p. 5) argued that cultural islands such as AIDs victims, orphans, gay and lesbian groups, and criminals many also constitute island communities. He argued that each cultural island is characterised by a specific use of language, systems and symbols, and which makes them distinct from mainstream groups.

Drawing upon a quote from Doumenge who was referring to 'real' physical islands (1985, p. 102), Omoniyi (2000, p. 6) stated 'islanders are never happier with their insularity than when asserting that they are completely different from their neighbours, particularly in regard to language, customs and laws and all the other symbols which demonstrate the existence of a small self-contained universe'. This, he argued, is a symbol of islandness, which can be applied to real, conceptual and metaphorical understandings of islands. Moreover, he also argued that this has been largely ignored, particularly by Caribbean scholars. Omoniyi claimed that islandness

could demonstrate how identity is often accepted as simply being in juxtaposition to a mainland or mainstream group:

‘The task then is to establish in concrete terms what islandness connotes and to determine how this is manifested in social attitudes and language behavior as set up in speech-community theory’
(Omoniyi, 2000, p. 5).

The term ‘island’ has therefore been used as a metaphor to conjure images of isolation, uniqueness, weakness and difference. However, some consider the use of islands metaphors to be misleading, unhelpful and harmful (Eriksen, 1993, p. 135; Hay, 2006, p. 30). Supporting network theory, Hay argued that islands should be used to represent connectedness rather than isolation (Hay, 2006, p. 23). Moreover, any phenomenon that is denied any sense of reality and lost in a metaphor is harmful, because the real issues and experiences for real islanders are ignored (Hay, 2006, p. 30). Baldacchino stated the metaphor once more disempowers island communities and renders them ‘victims ... of hyper-reality’ (2008, p. 44).

This body of island literature may not be based on islands in a geographical way. Nonetheless, it continues to question what an island actually is, and has paved a way for island scholars to be less concerned with what is an island, and more concerned with contributing to an understanding of islandness. For example, in his ethnographic study on Madeleine Island, Gibbons (2010, p. 166) explained how Madeline Island is ‘epistemologically compromised’ because it is connected to the mainland by a bridge and many of the islanders spend most of their time away from the island. However, Gibbon’s study that arguably is not on a ‘real’ island due to it having a ‘real’ connection with a mainland, constitutes to an understanding of what

is an islander and what island status means. He argued that island status is something that has to be negotiated through symbols and cultural capital. Subsequently, a body of literature on island studies has grown that encompasses real geographical islands, yet remains focused on the metaphorical, the symbolic and an understanding of islandness.

Islands in the Cultural Turn

This section will now refer to some examples of the research of cultural geographers. In their attempts to understand islandness *and* real geographical islands, they have shifted away from the confines of the traditional frameworks and followed a new approach to understanding island life. Some island scholars are thus applying the conceptual tools of islandness, not in the abstract sense like a metaphor, but explicitly to the study of islands for an understanding of what it means to be an island and an islander.

In some respects, the work of cultural geographers has overlaps with, and has been influenced by, Cultural Studies. In similar ways to the anthropological and ethnographic approaches to understanding social life as outlined earlier in this chapter (see Eriksen, 1995), the rise of Cultural Studies over the past thirty years has placed an emphasis on the cultural minutiae of society, such as beliefs, feelings, understandings, and everyday mundane yet symbolic practices. The ‘cultural imaginary’ places emphasis on ‘deconstruction, demystification and demythologization’ (Rojek, 2007, p. 161), for an understanding of how ‘culture is

produced and consumed within social life (Kellner & Durham, 2006, p. xxi). This can be recognised within the work of some cultural geographers.

With a shift from traditional Marxism, that has focused on top-down economic and political processes, the Marxist ideas of Althusser have influenced Cultural Studies by introducing ideology as a structure, but one which manifests itself within social consciousness. This was an early influence on the shift towards the cultural, away from the structural (Kellner & Durham, 2006, p. xx). Thus, a critical investigation of the subtle and often hidden processes of ideology, hegemony, resistance and diversity has been considered essential (Kellner & Durham, 2006, p. xiv-xv).

Cultural, postmodern and post-structural shifts have allowed for the implementation of new methods within Island Studies. Mackenzie's (2004) cultural method, for example, explored a tapestry that was created on the Isle of Harris. The tapestry provided an iconic representation of the past through visual stories and narratives, as it provided a space where the metaphors of belonging could be made visual (2004, p. 124). Mackenzie deconstructed the firm, bounded and inward looking sense of identity; the visual display of resistance to the fears invoked by a lack of inward investment; and a clear 'island-centred' identity and flourishing community that has survived regardless of struggle and hardship (Mackenzie, 2004, p. 119).

Blaikie (2001) also used visual representations, for an exploration of the people on Orkney and Shetland. He argued that photographs and images of islanders

tend to be translated as romantic, primitive and quaint ‘others’ (2001, p. 345). He demonstrated through examples, that images require a contextualisation and a sense of narrative, and so researchers need to look beyond the image and into the culture. Thus, images of islands need to be understood critically, from a diverse number of ways that deconstructs invented realities and staged traditions (2001, p. 363).

Not all island academics that position culture at the centre of their studies have shifted away from the rich ethnographic methods of anthropology. Instead, they have continued to embrace ethnography, but with an informed theoretical understanding that positions culture at the centre. Macleod (1999, p. 443) for example, noted a relatively recent trend for anthropological studies on tourism on islands, to focus on symbolic cultural issues rather than socio-economic ones.

Rather unique for his time however, the ethnographic work of Cohen provided a new approach for understanding island communities. Cohen (1987) undertook ethnographic research on the Shetland Island of Whalsay in the 1970s. Cohen (1987, p. 3) explicitly stated his work was not objective, but instead was embedded in interpretivism, and he rejected any presence of objectivity in his work. Moreover, he concentrated on the symbolic. He argued that applying a generalised meaning to symbolism is the naivety of academics that claim not to generalise (Cohen, 1987, p. 13). He thus argued that symbols are useful as they represent boundaries or bounded communities, but they do not inflect a fixed meaning. Instead, he claimed that symbols are the dialectic tools that islanders have to draw upon to make sense of their own experiences and identities. He argued it is through their own minds, experiences, values and ‘internal discourse’, that the islanders of

Whalsay can perpetually understand, and thus demonstrate through ‘idiomatic shorthand’, what it means to be ‘Whalsa’ (Cohen, 1987, p. 15).

Cohen argued that community members shift symbols in times of conflict or change, as a form of resistance and for reaffirming boundaries, when up against the more powerful and often mainland groups. He demonstrated how for a community this is a form of self-preservation:

‘The symbolic character of the boundary – its location in the mind – often accounts for its invisibility to outsiders. It may be a useful invisibility, for if outsiders are unaware of it they cannot attack or subvert it’
(Cohen, 1987, p. 16).

Cohen (1987, p. 207) thus argued that to understand a culture, the ethnographer must have a sense of their self, and have an understanding of the discourses that s/he is embedded within. Cohen (1987, p. 208) denied that ethnography merely reflects just the ethnographer, but instead also called for a need for Bakhtin’s dialogic, or an acknowledgement of the ‘interrelationship between socially and historically grounded languages’ (Dentith, 1995, p. 92), which would acknowledge the interaction between the ethnographer and their informants. Moreover, Cohen noted how genealogy provides a foundation for the islander’s social knowledge, and it is this history that provides an islander with a sense of their self. In his research, the present and the past have merged through, for example, stories, place names and family associations with particular types of employment. Thus, to understand the islanders, one must understand them dialogically.

Cole and Middleton (2001) undertook an ethnographic study on the island of Madagascar. They argued that previous literature has referred to ancestral and colonial power as if they were different, yet through their research that concentrated on ancestral worship, they demonstrated that the symbolic practices and sacrifices that the Malagasy people offer their dead ancestors, are often also symbolic of European and colonial authority (2001, p. 5). Also drawing upon Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia, Cole and Middleton (2001, p. 5) illustrated how the multivoiced ancestors are blending together the contradictory meanings and multiple languages to form a current, symbolic and imagined meaning for the living that manifests itself within ritual.

Similar to Cole and Middleton (2010), Seong-Nae (2004) also referred to ancestors and shared historical experiences as a form of a collective sense of community. In her work on Cheju Island off the coast of Korea, Seong-Nae (2004) argued the importance of oral history, not necessarily for a true coverage of historical events, but more for the narrative construction of identity, myth, cultural values and symbolism, which are based on a sense of place (2004, p. 57). She argued that although the islanders speak Korean like the mainlanders, their public narratives and community stories remain distinct and based upon their wars, feuds and destructive religious differences with the Korean mainlanders. Seong-Nae (2004, p. 67) demonstrated how the islanders use their history and their beliefs in spirits to reaffirm the distinction between themselves and the mainlanders. She thus argued, that the distinction based upon historical folklore of ancestral heroism, exile and return, as well as living memories of resistance, is what forms the 'imagined landscape' as well as dominant narratives of the past and present (2004, p. 60).

Similarly, Campbell's (2002) research on Georgian Bay, which forms part of an archipelago off the east Coast of Canada, focused on the concepts of difference, national identity and folklore. She referred to the foundations of cultural studies, whereby descriptions of nature require deconstructions as though texts or artefacts. She noted how tourism on Georgian Bay had been influenced by the literature that was produced within the Romanticism era and the artwork produced before the 1920s, which captured the Bay as a rugged and mythical wilderness (2002, pp. 72-73). Over some decades, tourism alongside the rise of seasonal workers arriving from the mainland, have generated a sense of difference within the bay, forming a culture of folklore, ghost stories and distinction. Moreover, Campbell described how Georgian Bay holds a wider juxtaposing position. For the islanders, the bay symbolises community values and tradition (2002, p. 79). However, for mainland Canadians, the rugged 'traditional' landscape of Georgian Bay also represented: a sense of nationalism; a 'national ideology of outdoor life'; Canadianness per se; as well as a resistance to any sense of American identity (Campbell, 2002, pp. 81-84).

Narratives of Belonging and the Politics of Transnationalism

Hay (2006, p. 19) argued that Island Studies needs to shift its focus from being watered down by metaphorical dilemmas and follow the trends of cultural geography. This will then provide Island Studies with a more unified route that focuses on a sense of place as an ideological concept, which encompasses an understanding of issues and processes such as identity, attachment and nationalism. This, Hay argued, provides Island Studies with a unified focus that examines

migration *and* transnationalism *and* islandness, in a culturally geographic way that involves the issues of attachment, loyalty and meaning (2006, p. 31). Hay referred to the work of Massey, who argued that space is an open and progressive phenomenon and therefore ‘constructed out of a multiplicity of social relations’ across time and space (Massey, 1994, p. 4). Hay (2006, p. 34) thus argued that there cannot be a single unified sense of islandness because there is not a single unified sense of place. Thus, each case requires a nuanced and complex understanding, which can be unified with a place focused phenomenological approach to understanding islands and islandness.

Many academics that focus on transnationalism, nationalism and identity politics also cite the work of Anderson (1992) and his ideological concept of ‘imagined communities’. Anderson argued that members who have never encountered each other can have a connection nonetheless, and ‘regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail ... the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship’ (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). Olwig (1993, p. 3) for example, drew upon the phrase of Anderson to illustrate how the Caribbean islands of Nevis and St Kitts had no political ‘imagined community’. This was because although those on the islands and the Diaspora remain attached to their particular island, they had no sense of attachment to all of the islands that comprised the nation state that was formed in the 1980s. Although Nevis and St Kitts had a similar history due to colonialism and migration, the islanders of the two islands felt the island communities were barely connected (Olwig, 1993, p. 3).

Olwig explained how her research presents a new cultural perspective on the research of migration, as opposed to socio-economic or ecological research (1993, p. 9). Olwig does not depend on statistical indicators of migration or economics, but rather focuses on 'transsocietal cultural processes' (1993, p. 9) whereby an identity has been formed through colonial processes as well as a transnational community. Olwig argued that this is illustrated by local symbolic practices such as customs and traditions, as well as external symbolic practices such as particular material goods, ceremonies and religious texts.

Olwig (1993, p. 11) argued that Caribbean culture is not a form of 'cultural schizophrenia' but rather Caribbean culture is at risk of being a hidden culture or a victim, whereby researchers look for explicit collective identities rather than subtle and nuanced formations of identity. Olwig summarised that a problem of past research is that researchers have looked for communities that make 'distinct wholes' (1993, p. 202) and so she argued reflexivity and interaction should be analysed, rather than cultural uniqueness. Olwig therefore claimed her case study of Nevis is a historical anthropological study that considered the complex interaction between the evolution of the islanders, as well as the changes and continuities of their cultural identity. Olwig's work draws upon historical, official, government and religious reports and narratives.

Olwig concluded from her Caribbean island case study that the island's culture remains, to a certain extent, embedded within Western discourses, which they adopt as a means of survival. This is not new, but rather a pattern that has occurred since the times of colonialism and slavery. However, in addition to

adopting Western and global frameworks, the local culture retains a strong sense of difference and a strong sense of the self, all of which manifests itself and is represented in very subtle ways:

‘The large-scale emigration and heavy influx of Western material culture should not be seen as a sign of Nevisians having, finally, succumbed to Western culture after several centuries of exposure to it. migration and Western material culture represent important frameworks, associated with the conditions of life in the present-day world, within which Nevisians can position themselves and display Afro-Caribbean culture. These frameworks are therefore a sign of the islanders actively confronting, within their own cultural context, the inherent conflicts and contradictions generated by the various global flows that have met on their island. The emergence of a transnational community of Nevisians straddling migration destinations in several different nation states, exploiting a variety of economic niches, yet remaining fiercely loyal to the family back home on Nevis and to everything it stands for, represents a departure from mainstream Western cultural norms’

(Olwig, 1993, p. 197).

Similar to the arguments of Olwig (1993), Klimt and Lubkemann (2002, p. 146) rejected the notion of Diaspora as being something that occurs due to a negative phenomenon such as marginalisation, sufferance or loss. Klimt and Lubkemann (2002) focus their work on the Portuguese Diaspora and ‘Portugueseness’. Although Portugal is not an island, and subsequently out of place within this thesis, they do nonetheless focus on the issues called for by Hay (2006) discussed previously within this chapter.

Klimt and Lubkemann (2002, p. 147) argued that Diaspora as a concept involves numerous identity discourses. These include an orientation to a particular place, transnational attachments to a homeland and a hostland, and a focused and centred understanding of culture and loyalty. The material, metaphorical, real and imagined, thus become intertwined within the myths of return, and the narratives of

belonging need to be understood for an examination of a Diasporic consciousness (2002, pp. 147-148). Thus the social characteristics of Diaspora in the hostland require as much attention with regards to stories and narratives, as the reasons for dispersal (Klimt and Lubkemann, 2002, p. 146-147).

Klimt and Lubkemann, (2002, p. 150) draw upon the work of Brah to make the point that “Diasporic community’ is differently imagined under different historical circumstances’. Thus they argue, by exploring difference rather than similarity within a Diaspora, the tensions of dispersal can be investigated. Such tensions include the multiple identities and negotiations, as well as the contradictions encountered, due to family, state and local interests, which occur due to transnationalism and the politics of belonging.

Similar to many academics interested in migration, Diaspora and transnationalism, Klimt and Lubkemann (2002, p. 146-147) draw upon Anderson’s imagined community, and Massey’s notions of belonging, as well as the discursive constructions of home as conceptualised by Dawson and Rapport (1998). Together these provide a nuanced understanding of social connections and disconnections (Klimt and Lubkemann, 2002, p. 146). Thus, an idea of space as a construction of ‘a multiplicity of social relations’ across time and space (Massey, 1994, p. 4); alongside an ‘imagined community with a deep sense of camaraderie (Anderson, 2006, p. 7); and an understanding of home that can be based within fantasy, memory and longing, when up against transience, displacement and no certainty of return (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, pp. 8-9) are essential theoretical perspectives for when understanding migrant communities.

Klimt and Lubkemann (2002) argued that Diaspora is thus a discursive process. They argued that new analytic methods are required for examining narratives of belonging, which incorporates an investigation of the historical and as well as the material. This, they argued, would provide an ‘insight into how and why memories of Diaspora are selectively appropriated, remembered, or forgotten’ (Klimt and Lubkemann, 2002, p. 149).

A State-led National Identity

The state has been found by some academics to explicitly try to install an imagined sense of belonging. Similar to the work of Klimt and Lubkemann (2002), Noivo’s (2000) research is also based upon Portugal, and this study raises some interesting issues that island scholars should address, particularly those islands who are attached to a ‘motherland’. Noivo (2000, pp. 260-261) described ‘Portugal’s Day’, which is celebrated wherever large groups of Portuguese migrants reside, such as in Australia and Canada. Portuguese ambassadors and officials visit the celebrations to read speeches and their speeches stress the unique characteristics of Portuguese culture. They also stress the need for a sense of pride, loyalty and sense of belonging, as well as the importance of working hard and positively representing the Portuguese nation. Such celebrations are covered in the Portuguese media. Noivo noted the state-led attempts to standardise the Diaspora’s national identity:

‘Without any trace of regret or sense of responsibility for having exported millions of citizens as cheap labour, the state unabashedly strives to implant in the displaced workers a sense of attachment and bondedness to the country that, according to these workers, originally forced them out

... The Portuguese state thus not only seeks to define and standardise Portugueseness across the diaspora but also tries to regulate the sentiments and identity management of the Portuguese abroad The Portuguese State uses the June commemorations and its political authority ... to frame the contours of Portugueseness outside its social borders' (Noivo, 2000, p. 261).

Noivo (2000, p. 262) reported how one of his interviewees actually found the ambassadors 'dictatorial' and recognised that a state manufactured cultural identity was being imposed upon them. They claimed the ambassadors did not symbolically represent their feelings for their homeland, and instead they felt manipulated by the Government of their homeland, who actually let them down.

Similarly, Rajasingham-Seanayake's (2002) ethnography that spanned over six years focused on national identity on the island of Sri Lanka, and demonstrated that the islanders have become interpellated into a particular ethnic or race-based group. This was through the creation of official narratives that disguised and denied any presence of hybridity and instead claimed distinction. An advocate of cultural methods, Rajasingham-Seanayake argued that traditional ethnographic studies have become 'tired' and tend to concentrate on one 'distinct' group of people. She argued through a close investigation of symbolic practices, the communities were actually being instructed of their national identity in a top-down fashion. A through examination of the symbolic rituals of the Sri Lankan islanders, such as religion, ceremony, exchange and patterns of co-existence, Rajasingham-Seanayake demonstrated a clear presence of hybridity.

Li Puma (1997, p. 218) gathered ethnographic data on the Solomon Islands, and also argued that it was Westernised and esoteric narratives that have formed the

‘imagined community’ (Li Puma, 1997, p. 221). This was because the island’s history had been re-narrated with a ‘national ideology’ to install a sense of cultural continuity. Li Puma (1997) demonstrated how a state can construct history to create a sense of solidarity for heterogeneous people and he investigated the structures the state used to manifest the sense of solidarity.

Li Puma argued that the individual islands that constitute the Solomon Islands once had distinct identities, but this was broken by colonialism and ‘imperialist bureaucracy’ (Li Puma, 1997, p. 220). Now organised by Western culture, the World bank and global economy, the Solomon Island State have established a unified identity for the sake of the nation state, which is a Westernised concept. By writing an official and Westernised history of the Solomon Islands, the State are trying to create a sense of unity and eradicate any sense of difference or ‘fracture’ for the state (Li Puma, 1997, p. 214). Li Puma argued that education was the tool that has been used, with the islands’ history either wiped out, marginalised or constructed as ‘natural’. The other medium had been the creation of a national museum that displayed and represented ‘tradition’. The museum also sent schools information packs, ‘plus a teacher’s guide, on how to use the materials to install a sense of national cultural identity’ (Li Puma, 1997, p. 228).

Island studies and Diaspora studies, that draw upon the symbolic and the cultural, have thus captured and demonstrated the structures of national politics and an imposed sense of nationhood. Through mere observation, without any awareness or understanding of ideology or power, such top-down practices would not be captured nor would any sense of resistance be recognised, particularly if

ideologically accepted by the mainstream. However, the nuanced and juxtaposed narratives of belonging and symbolic practices of transnational communities, are what often demonstrates the underlying sense of home, sense of belonging and sense of community.

The St Helena Island Literature in Context

Very few sociological or anthropological studies have been undertaken on the Island of St Helena. Predominantly, historical texts are available on St Helena (Cross, 1980; Evans, 1994; Gosse, 1990) and these have been drawn upon in the Prelude to provide the background information on the island. According to Schulenburg:

‘Firstly, there is a severe lack of comprehensive primary research, and secondly, there is an embarrassing absence of contextualisation of and critical engagement with St Helena’s history’
(Schulenburg, 1998, p, 120).

There have been some studies referred to in the Prelude, which would fall into the broad definition of the social sciences. They each include an overview of the island’s history, as well as its geographically remote location. Understandably, context is required, although at times the ‘fascinating’ history of the island and its economy appears to form the main crux of the publication, rather than any substantial contribution to new or theoretically driven knowledge.

Embedded within the paradigm of the development literature and policies for small islands, Gillett’s (1983, p. 151) policy paper circulates around the ethical position of awarding a Grant-in-Aid. He queried whether the aid could ever be

reduced, and whether the island could become more self-sufficient. He described himself as ‘a senior official’ and confirmed his belief that the island could be self-sufficient with the appropriate development plan.

Cohen’s work, although also within the paradigm of change and development, drew upon empirical fieldwork. In the 1970s, Cohen undertook the research for his Ph.D. on St Helena and two publications were drawn from this, both of which focused on the continuing and structured dependence of the island, on its mother country the UK. Cohen’s (1983a) first publication focused on the islanders’ aspirations and their sense of a national identity. Cohen’s sample consisted of 15 – 16 years olds still attending the secondary schools on the island. An additional 53 school children were asked questions regarding the physical geography of the outside world, and 71 secondary students were asked to write an essay, with questions being set that would extrapolate their employment aspirations.

Cohen’s (1983b) other publication based upon his PhD work explicitly accused the British government of creating a dependent island. Based upon a survey that included 110 islanders, Cohen (1983b, p. 129) gauged living standards and attitudes, and noted that the islanders resistance to any injection of capital on the island was a consequence of ‘structural constraints’; a lack of domestic savings (or need for them); and government monopoly on employment.

Drower (1992) awarded some attention to St Helena in his book’s final section titled ‘Permanent Empire’. Based upon political academic literature, published and unpublished Government data, parliamentary debates and committee

reports, the book provided a historical overview of the empire, as well as the implementation of old and new policies for the empire and islands of the UK. He argued throughout that the remaining territories have become a 'permanent empire' and he stated 'St Helena seems doomed to remain a tiny speck on a forgotten sea' (1992, p. 221).

Dommen and Hein (1985, p. 165) also specifically use St Helena as a case study. They discuss how islands that were originally populated for the purposes of sea travel, have tended to lose their importance with the rise in air travel, thus experiencing a decline in shipping and hindering substantial tourist interests. Similarly, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD Secretariat) (1985, p. 138) noted St Helena's neighbour Ascension Island as an example of a remote island, that was once important for communications and military, but which has declined in importance due to the rise of satellites.

Moore (2000) awarded attention to St Helena within his policy paper on the 1981 Nationality Act, which he argued was inconsistent and racist. Moore described the previous nationality acts, alongside some of their consequences. He then moved on to specifically discuss the implications that the 1981 act had on St Helena, such as a lack of access to travel and the psychological damage due to their rejection from their mainland.

Royle has numerous publications that involved St Helena or one of its dependencies. For example, Royle's inaugural lecture that was titled *Small Places Like St Helena Have Big Questions to Ask*, was published in the *Island Studies*

Journal (2010). However, the inaugural lecture only raised questions for St Helena and did not contribute any new empirical evidence. Royle's (2010) 'big question' is actually based upon the question of the islander named in his paper – Basil George. Basil asked 'how do we manage?' at a time of global recession and when the island is experiencing a recent loss of a quarter of its population. Royle (2010, p. 20) continued that 'the future of the island itself must be in some doubt'.

Royle has however, been writing about St Helena for approximately two decades. Like many others, Royle starts with a historical overview and moves on to provide unemployment statistics, employment trends and patterns, remittances and the figures of the Grand-in-aid. Royle (1991, p. 71) visited the island and collected empirical data through questionnaires from 50 senior school pupils and their future aspirations. He concluded his book 'A Geography of Islands, Small Island Insularity' (2001) stating that St Helena is an 'extreme island' because it is so insular (2001, p. 210).

Schulenberg's anthropological and archive study claimed to have shifted the St Helena literature somewhat. The anthropologist referred to his work as a historiography (1998, p. 108) and he provided a historical overview of the island (Schulenburg & Schulenburg, 1997; Schulenburg, 1998). Schulenburg (1998) argued that most archival research done on the empire and outposts is done in the British library and the Public Records Office in London, as opposed to using the archives on the outposts themselves (Schulenburg, 1998, p. 108). Schulenburg provided a St Helenian archival overview of the island's history, culture and identity with a focus on government, economy and British society. He referred to the richness of the

documents which narrate the island's past, such as descriptions left by travellers and East India Company Records, some of which go back as far as 1673.

Schulenburg did not refer to any primary data himself until he contributed a chapter to the edited book of Charlton, Gunter and Hannan (2002), titled *Broadcast Television Effects in a Remote Community*, which is specifically focused on the island of St Helena. For his chapter, Schulenburg (1998) collected essays written by the school children. Schulenburg (2002, p.28) argued that although the essays did not extract rich ethnographic narratives, they did provide an idiosyncratic insight into community life on the island. Schulenburg (2002, p. 26) drew upon Cohen (1982) to note how various voices can exist within dialogue. Thus, a researcher needs to carefully interrogate their data for the internal voices (the private, idiosyncrasies) of a community and the external voices, specifically constructed for an outside audience (the public, 'typical mode') (Schulenburg, 2002, p. 26).

Charlton, in comparison, has published widely on his research that looks at the effects of television on the St Helenian community, particularly the school children. The island received broadcast television in March 1995, and the Internet and e-mail in 1998. His research has been widely published and used data from his longitudinal, pre-and-post television data that spanned ten years and predominantly drew upon educational, behavioural and psychological quantitative indicators. His methods included teacher-rating scales, content analysis of TV programmes, television diaries and observation schedules of children's free play. Moreover, he supported his research with the qualitative methods of interviews with teachers, pupil essays, secondary school focus groups and several field visits. An overview

can be read in Charlton, Gunter and Hannan (2002).

Within this edited book, the then Chief Education Officer on the Island (Lawrence, 2002), provided an overview of the St Helenian community. Similarly, O'Bey (no date) documented her perceptions of life on the island in her unpublished piece written for the French Consulate on the Island. Both Lawrence and O'Bey are St Helenians and currently live on the Island. Their work was referred to in the Prelude to this thesis.

Finally, some other academic pieces of research should be noted, both of which have collected qualitative empirical data. Yon (2002), an islander himself drew upon informal interviews with some of the 'one hundred men'. They were a wave of migrants from the island to the UK, some fifty years before Yon's research. Yon (2002, p. 7) referred to himself as 'an insider' and stated how the memories of the One Hundred Men could perform a symbolic function, which helps to understand how experiences of voluntary and forced migration are remembered. He argued that his research demonstrated St Helena's relationship with its Mother country. Through memory and narratives, it has provided an insight into the psychological reconciliation process that justified the contradictions that race, citizenship and national identity imposed upon the St Helenian migrants (2002, p. 7). Yon has also released a DVD on the island, where recorded interviews with second generation St Helenians living in the UK, discuss their St Helenian identity.

Most recently, for their Masters thesis, the social geographers Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2005) interviewed 26 'key informants' whilst on the island of St

Helena for ten weeks, as well as utilized pre-existing work of school children. Their sample was a rather biased sample, consisting of Heads of Departments and professional St Helenians (who are used to talking to visitors and experts on the island), as well as the ex-pat Governor (2005, p. 97). They focused on citizenship and identity on the island using informal discussions, participation observation and interview data. The research subsequently incorporated: perceptions of the islanders; the perceived cultural and national identities of the St Helenians; their daily cultural routines; their lifestyles within their geographical situation; and their cultural and political position with the rest of the world. Their specific research question was:

‘What are the spatial identities of the citizens of Saint Helena and how will these change as a result of enlarged interaction opportunities, notably the return of British citizenship and the return of access?’
(Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002).

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop visited the island between March and June 2002. Citizenship was returned to the islanders in May 2002 (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002, pp. 97-98). Subsequently, as citizenship had only been returned to the islanders one month before their research, and so any changes had not had the opportunity to take place, they admitted that a substantial part of their thesis was speculative (2002, 1.3). They concluded that ‘at present, the future looks grim’ (2005, p. 102); that St Helena has been ‘losing people at an alarming rate’ (2005, pp102-103); that a declining and aging population will take an impact (2002, p. 102).

To my knowledge, no other published studies have been undertaken on the island, which have investigated the broad issues of identity and migration since the return of British citizenship. I am aware of other doctoral research currently being

undertaken on the island. The St Helenian, Cilla MacDaniel, is currently undertaking phenomenological research that investigates ‘Transatlantic mothers: the migratory experiences of St Helenian working women’ (Bristol University, submitted May 2011). Additionally, I am aware that a South African student from the University of Petoria is currently investigating Adult and Vocational Training on the Island.

The existing St Helenian research, which focuses on the society rather than the ecology, falls predominantly within the disciplines and paradigms of history, social policy, geography, anthropology and sociology. However, none of the studies provide the cultural depth and theoretical analysis that has been undertaken on other islands. Additionally, none of the studies have used the analytical tools, as used by the sample of cultural geographers in the previous section of this thesis, with any depth. The journalist Winchester referred to Britain as the St Helenian’s ‘imagined home’ (2003, p. 163), and many of the academics investigated identity, a sense of belonging, symbolic memories, Diaspora, migration and even ideology. However, at best, the research is sociologically informed, but does not provide the depth and richness, or thorough analytical and empirical investigation. Moreover, no research has investigated the island since citizenship had been fully restored, whereby enough time had passed for the islanders to fully utilize their restored nationality.

The future of Island Studies: A Conclusion

Baldacchino (2004, p. 2; 2006, p. 9) noted how Island Studies has not yet been accepted as an academic field due to its overlap with other established disciplines, although this may be changing. He attributed the non-acceptance of Island Studies to

their marginalized and inconsequential position. Moreover, he noted how islands tend to be used as metaphors or laboratories, where the findings are then translated into an analysis of mainland societies. He argued that although plenty of geographical islands exist, they are not studied in their own right, as a substantial proportion of the world's physical land or population. From this perspective, he argued, 'comparative Island Studies beckon' (Baldacchino, 2004, p. 327). Moreover,

'Students of islands have two strikes against them ... One is that analysts of island life are often regarded as naïve romantics; island scholars have trouble in being taken seriously. A second disadvantage is that islands connote smallness, hence unimportance'
(Anckar, 1996, p. 697).

This chapter has demonstrated that there is a constellation of approaches to Island Studies, whose paradigms have shifted considerably over past decades. Some have been applied to the St Helena literature and some have not. The positivist and empiricist traditions have focused on a search for a generalised approach to Island Studies (Hindmarsh, 1996, p. 2; Pitt, 1985, p. 30), particularly for the sake of development. However, this paradigm no longer appears to dominate Island Studies literature, although it does tend to contribute the majority of academic literature available on St Helena. The social constructionist and rationalist traditions, which draw upon members' personal understandings and belief systems, and have been evident within the Island Studies literature for over twenty years (Hindmarsh, 1996, p. 3; Pitt, 1985, p. 31), are seriously missing within the St Helena literature.

Other particular shifts have emerged within Island Studies that have shifted empiricist, social constructionist and post-structuralist research, from a use of top-down understandings on islands, to a more bottom up approach to understanding

islandness. In other words, research has shifted from Governments, Development Agencies, empiricist academics and experts, to a focus on the cultural approaches of islandness, and the meaning-making processes as articulated by islanders themselves, at the community level. Although there are 'token efforts' on St Helena, no thorough investigation of the island community has been undertaken.

Within Island Studies, particularly within small island communities, and particularly on St Helena, there is still a paucity of research and there are many questions that remain un-investigated. Eriksen (1993, p. 140) argued there is a need to investigate the distinct idiosyncratic 'cultural island phenomena' and Baldacchino (2004, p. 1) argued that if there are characteristics and questions that specifically relate to island life, then they have not yet been adequately addressed. Skinner (2002a, pp. 206-207) also argued that research on island communities is far from complete and stressed the importance of an understanding of how islanders negotiate and manage island life.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Hay (2006, p. 19) questioned whether a 'coherent theory of islandness' is actually possible when islands are so diverse. He answered his own question by concluding that Island Studies needs to shift its focus towards cultural geography and phenomenology. Then, he argued, Island Studies can investigate the issues of an ideological sense of place, identity, attachment, nationalism, migration, transnationalism and islandness.

Following the arguments of Hay, with a specific focus on the island of St Helena, I aim to capture islandness, as articulated by the islanders themselves. I aim

to draw upon their lived experience, to demonstrate their ‘ideologically-coded’ understandings of their identity, their relationships, as well as what the island means to them. I thus aim to adopt a cultural approach that addresses the complexity and nuances of the islander’s experiences, through an investigation of ideology, resistance and diversity. Moreover, I aim to do so through the gathering of rich ethnographic data that captures a holistic experience of island life.

To summarise, within this thesis I intend to draw upon existing literature to help direct my own research and investigation. For example, Doumenge (1985, p. 84) made the point that some island communities have survived and flourished after initially consisting of, or being reduced to, only 100 members and he argued that viability depends upon the community’s will to survive. However, other than state the need for available resources and the ability to trade within networks, he offered no depth for understanding the cultural processes or practices that support a particular community’s survival. Since Doumenge, some island scholars have investigated change, continuity and survival (Olwig, 1993). Others have identified the islanders’ ‘internal discourse’ and the shifting of an island’s symbolic practices in times of conflict or change, as a form of resistance and self-preservation (Cohen, 1987, p. 15). Others have recognised the ‘habitus’ as a set of informal skills that aids survival (Skinner, 2002a).

Much island research has also referred to the concepts of difference and distinction to argue a symbolic and imagined sense of place and community (Seong-Nae, 2004; Campbell, 2002). Islanders have been known to ideologically narrate their own experiences and identities, and manage the tools i.e. symbols they have, to

demonstrate the imagined boundary around their community. Similar to some cultural island researchers, I intend to include a consideration of how an imagined sense of place or imagined national identity, has established ideological significance for the St Helenian community. Moreover, similar to other academics I aim to investigate how an imagined national identity has been ideologically imposed upon islanders (Rajasingham-Seanayake, 2002; Li Puma, 1997) and other Diasporic communities (Noivo, 2000).

Finally, past island research has called for an understanding of island life that is based upon memory and imagination (Rapport, 2002), and highlighted the importance of oral history for an understanding of the present (Bethel, 2002). Many of the cultural island scholars highlighted the need for a historical understanding which dialogically inflects an islanders' sense of the self (Cohen, 1987; Seong-Nae, 2004; Campbell, 2002), and which provides a symbolic and imagined form of resistance to change (Anthony, 1998; Cole & Middleton, 2001). Moreover, the island researchers called for a need to consider the dialogic interaction between the ethnographer and their informants (Cohen, 1987); a dialogic understanding of resistance and symbolic forms of release for those who are repressed or form a minority group (Nurse, 1999, p. 662); how islanders dialogically keep in touch with the zeitgeist of the homeland (Nurse, 1999, p. 662); and how multi-voiced ancestors are blended together to form a coherent, symbolic and imagined sense of the now (Cole and Middleton, 2001).

I aim to investigate the above issues, with a specific focus on the St Helenian islanders. I aim to contribute to an understanding of continuity and survival for small

island communities, and investigate the practices and decisions of the St Helenian islanders, which assist with the continuity of their community in times of change and rupture. I aim to investigate how St Helenians ideologically narrate their own experiences, as well as the imagined boundary of their island, which secures the community at a time of flux and uncertainty. I also intend to investigate the islanders' stories and narratives, as based upon memory and imagination, for an understanding of the symbolic importance of history and their collective past.

Within this thesis I also aim to add to the qualitative generalisations that can be made regarding island communities and confirm Baldacchino's (2004, p. 1) contention that there are characteristics and questions which specifically relate to island life. This is different to the quantitative generalisations of development studies referred to in chapter 2, where island scholars wished to identify statistical and quantitative indicators to be able to confirm what constitutes an island and which islands deserve aid (see Dommen and Hein, 1985).

As has been demonstrated within ethnographic island studies (see Cohen, 1987; Olwig, 1993), and also will be demonstrated within the rest of this thesis, inhabited small islands have generalisable features, which are related to identity, community and culture. Generic features of island communities include isolation, migration, diaspora and links to a mainland or motherland. Moreover, due to marginalisation, migration and dispersal, island identities are often underpinned by an ideological sense of place, attachment and transnationalism (see Campbell, 2002; Cole and Middleton, 2010; Seong-Nae, 2004).

This thesis will also contribute to the questions regarding how island communities survive when up against dispersal, rupture and change. Subsequently this thesis supports and contributes to the qualitative generalisations already in existence within island literature, which have demonstrated that survival is due to collective identities and habitus; underpinned by community, kinship and loyalty (see Cohen, 1987; Olwig, 1993; Skinner, 2002a). This thesis will now move on to the next chapter, to demonstrate the methods, methodological and analytical practices that I used, to investigate such issues on the Island of St Helena.

CHAPTER 3: The Methodological, Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Introduction

This chapter will introduce and explain the methodological, theoretical and analytical framework of this thesis. Drawing upon interviews and observations, I will explain why these methods were the most suitable for my research questions and also how they fit within an ethnographic framework. I will then explain why the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism was necessary for my research, and how the analytical framework which supports a symbolic interactionist perspective, provided the apt analytical tools to address my research questions.

The Methodological Framework

One of the founders of ethnography, Malinowski (1922/1984), placed an emphasis on the importance of language within ethnographic studies, yet very few others followed his lead (Urry, 1992, p. 50). By the 1960s this was changing and Dell Hymes was calling for 'an ethnographic study of language use across speech communities' (Duranti, 2001, p. 17). Supporting the work of Hymes, Duranti (2001, p. 17) called for ethnographic researchers to look for acts, situations and events that are embedded within language, to demonstrate community membership, competence and knowledge.

The origins of ethnography were embedded within social anthropology and were associated with British colonial occupation (Brewer, 2000, p. 11; Schwoch &

White, 2006, p. 12). Early British anthropological research and early island research (see Malinowski, 1922; Radcliffe-Brown, 1948) have been criticised and somewhat discredited for being sexist, ethnocentric and 'scientific' (O'Reilly, 2005, pp. 9-17). Ethnography has since shifted from a search for facts and a scientific approach (Urry, 1984, p. 60), into yet another phase. Ethnographic fieldwork began to focus on one single society, often considered representative of other societies and cultures, with 'the idea of the (village) community as the unit of study' (Clammer, 1992, p. 67). However, in a globalising world, academics are now conscious of networks, links and interaction as opposed to pure, isolated, self-contained entities (Clammer, 1992, p. 67). Ethnographers have since shifted once more from a desire to generalise into a wider context, to a desire to gain a localised understanding of a specific culture. However, what 'dogs it to this day: [is] the common-sense notion that it offers mere description of things foreign, exotic and peculiar' (Brewer, 2000, p. 13).

Despite the shifts and transgressions within ethnographic research, ethnography remains firmly established as a respected methodology within many disciplines and subjects. Moreover, the methods used within ethnography have diversified from merely drawing upon researcher description to also including native language, texts, surveys, and technical aids such as tape recorders and cameras (Clammer, 1992, p. 66). Ethnography 'involves the application of a full range of methods available to any researcher in a way that is obvious to common sense' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 1). It provides the foundation for the collection of empirical data for the production of situated, rich, thick, non-reductive, detail of social life (Taylor, 2002, p. 3).

The Empirical research: an Ethnographic Framework

I am positioning my research within an anthropological and ethnographic framework. Although I am not claiming my research to be a 'legitimate' ethnography because I did not totally immerse myself for a significant length of time within the St Helenian community, I am claiming my research is embedded within an ethnographic framework. I have been involved with the community, in one way or another, for over ten years and my research draws upon my own experiences and observations, in addition to the principle method of interviews.

Hammersley and Atkinson clarified that ethnography involves the study of people in their everyday contexts (in the field), which is usually small-scale, in-depth research which draws from methods such as participant observation, asking questions and/or collecting documents (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). They also confirmed that ethnography 'is not used in an entirely standard fashion; its meaning can vary ... it is variable and sometimes contested in character' (2007, p. 1). Similarly, Taylor (2001, p. 1-2) makes it clear that the practice of ethnography is varied and wide-ranging.

According to O'Reilly (2005, p. 1) 'ethnography is difficult to define because it is used in different ways in different disciplines with different traditions' (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 1). O'Reilly (2005, p. 112) noted how although ethnography tends to be associated with participant observation, interviews can be the main source of data collection within an ethnography. Some ethnographers will make use of informal conversations with people who they encounter on an ad hoc basis.

However, other researchers prefer more formal interviews where a mutually agreed time and place has been established (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 115). In these instances, O'Reilly (2005, p. 115) argued that the 'ethnographic fieldwork provides the context'.

Within this thesis, the majority of the data referred to derives from interviews. However, this thesis falls within an ethnographic framework because the encounters that I had with the St Helenian community provided the context for the interviews. For example, as already stated within this thesis, before I embarked on this research I had worked with some members of the St Helenian community due to my involvement with the St Helenian link. These encounters created my initial research questions and also, to a certain extent, led me to create assumptions about the community such as the (mis) assumption that most St Helenians had not left the island until the return of British citizenship in 2002. Subsequently, by the time I went to St Helena to work in the field, I had existing knowledge and assumptions which fed into the research process and the questions which I asked during the interviews.

When on the island, my observations and interactions also led me to ask particular questions. For example, some of my questions stemmed from seeing the British flag flying at The Castle; seeing the French flag flying at Napoleon's home, Longwood House; attending the Remembrance Sunday Service at The Wharf and the Songs of the War evening at the Consulate Hotel. I spent 9 weeks on the island and had many informal conversations with St Helenians including those who I lived with, which fed into the research process. Additionally, the interviews that I had with

St Helenians living in the UK were informed by my experiences on the island. Subsequently, the interviews that I had with the St Helenian respondents on and off the island, were informed by my ethnographic experiences. Had I undertaken the interviews without such ethnographic experience, and in isolation from any knowledge of the island and the islanders, my research would have been very different.

As stated above, the primary data for this thesis has been collected as 68 interviews with St Helenians both on and off the island. Whilst on St Helena I interviewed 46 St Helenians, made fieldnotes, and collated any printed material I could use as data (tourist leaflets, St Helena Government papers, population statistics). Moreover, I visited the archives on island, as well as the museum of St Helena and Napoleon's house, and as many formal and informal places as I could. Whilst in the UK, I have interviewed a further 22 St Helenians. Moreover, I worked alongside the St Helenian community for eight years whilst I worked within the St Helena Link Office. I have since stayed in touch with the St Helenian community, in particular my St Helenian friend whom I stayed with whilst on the Island as she now lives in the UK.

The Sample – the decisions

The data comes from two arguably distinct samples, collected at two distinct stages within the research process. This was due to my original decision to collect data for a comparative design. My original intention was to divide my sample of St Helenians into those who had never migrated away from the Island and those who had migrated away. However, when arriving on the island I realised the impossibility of this task

due to the migration patterns within the St Helenian community. Many St Helenians spend a significant length of time overseas for work or for study, or to accompany spouses, parents or children whilst they work or study. Very few St Helenians who I approached had never been off the island.

Another original intention was only to interview those in the UK, who had recently migrated as a consequence of British citizenship being returned in 2002. I had assumed that the St Helenian migrants who had left in the 1960s or 1970s would be small in number and not reflect a typical St Helenian experience. Moreover, I had assumed those who left the island between 1981 and 2002 would be a non-typical few, who had retained British citizenship due to the birthplace of their parents. However, as already stated, the parameters and boundaries of migration from the island were not as clear as I originally assumed. Some St Helenians moved to the UK before 2002 on work permits or education permits. They repeatedly renewed these when possible and then applied for British nationality whilst already living within the UK.

One other initial problem for the research was deciding who was a 'legitimate' St Helenian. Baldacchino (2008, p. 47) raised the problem of defining who is a legitimate islander and who is not. In a world characterised by migration, movement and multiple identities, the distinctions between an islander as an *insider*, in contrast to an islander as an *outsider*, is not clear and such distinctions can induce a form of prejudice and exclusion, or in research terms, a form of bias or ignorance.

When I arrived on the island I discovered ‘multiple migration processes’ (King, 2009, p. 68) within the St Helenian community. For example, there were people who have lived on the island for over forty years and who had married an islander and had St Helenian children, yet had no St Helenian heritage themselves. There are also islanders who are St Helenian but have only recently moved back to the island after 50 years of living overseas. Additionally, there are St Helenians who were born on Ascension, live on Ascension and only visit their ‘home’ of St Helena for short holidays. There are also people who live on the island and have a St Helenian parent, yet they do not feel St Helenian due to their self-recognised difference from the rest of the community.

Gibbons (2010, p. 166) argued that to be an islander and to have islander status, is something that has to be negotiated through symbols and cultural capital. Subsequently, people not born on an island can achieve island status over time. However, I decided that the condition I would have for the basis of my sample, was that the interviewees had to have at least one St Helenian parent and be first generation St Helenian. In other words, my sample would include people who had spent significant parts of their lives either on St Helena or Ascension Island, and born to a St Helenian parent. Thus my sample excluded people who were born in the UK to at least one St Helenian parent, and who had never or barely spent time on the island.

My sample however, does include St Helenians who were born on Ascension and grew up on Ascension. Those on Ascension are officially St Helenian citizens, have a firm attachment to St Helena and identify themselves as St Helenians.

Moreover, those on Ascension visit St Helena or their 'home' on a regular basis, perhaps once every three or four years, to visit family and often to see to their own home.

In addition to interviewing 68 interviewees who had at least one St Helenian parent and a firm sense of a St Helenian identity, I also interviewed two other people who have lived on the island for a substantial period of time, married a St Helenian and had St Helenian children. However, they have no St Helenian heritage themselves. Subsequently, I have actually completed 70 interviews, which totals just under 74 hours of interview recording. Because I identify these interviewees as not being St Helenian, I have distinguished these interviewees from the main sample of 68 interviews. A count of the interviewees included in this thesis can be seen in Table 1 below. A character synopsis of each interviewee can be found in appendix c. All interviews have been transcribed and investigated using NVivo. (See appendix D for how the interviews were coded).

Table 1. Respondents in the Sample

	On-Island Interviews		Off-Island Interviews	
St Helenian Interviews				
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Age				
18-20	5	2	1	
21-30	5	2	1	2
31-40	5	4	2	1
41-50	6		4	2
51-60	3	5	6	1
61-70	1	5		
71-80	3		2	
total	28	18	16	6
Total	46 – on-island interviews		22 – off-island interviews	
Hours	41 hrs 9 mins on island		29 hrs 47 mins off island	
Total of St Helenian interviews = 68				
Total of hours = 70 hours 56 minutes				
‘Other’ St Helenian Community Members				
Total	1		1	
Hours	30 mins		2 hrs 12 mins	
Grand total of interviews in this thesis = 70				
Grand Total Time in minutes = 73 hours 38 minutes				

Stage 1, data collection on St Helena

On October 19th 2006 I took the RAF flight from the military airport in Brize Norton, Oxford, to Ascension Island, arriving the next day on October 20th. I then travelled by The Royal Mail Ship (RMS) St Helena, leaving Ascension Island on October 20th and arriving at the island of St Helena October 23rd. I spent 8 weeks on the island, and left on the 15th December. I arrived back on Ascension Island on the 18th December and was due to fly home three days later. However, due to the flight being delayed due to weather conditions on The Falklands, I was actually on Ascension Island for 7 days. I eventually caught the RAF flight home on Christmas day and arrived back in the UK on 26th December 2006. The round trip took just under ten weeks. Whilst on island I lived with a St Helenian friend who I had met in the UK in 1998 through the St Helena Link Office. Her home was in the district of St Pauls. On the island, this is known to be within the country.

Because of the in-depth nature of this study, and because the research does not wish to make generalisations beyond the St Helenian community, the research did not utilize any form of random sampling. Individuals were selected based upon their availability and willingness to participate. My original intention was to interview between 20 and 30 St Helenians whilst on the island, but after I had reached 30, I decided to continue to interview as many people as I could. Due to time and cost restrictions I could never re-visit the island and it was essential that I gathered as much data as possible whilst I had the opportunity. Throughout the 46 interviews I began to hear recurring themes and by the time I left the island I felt I had reached a point of saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 61).

Although I did not aim for a random sample I did aim to approach a cross-section of the population. Most days I walked into the only town on the island (approximately 90 minute walk), knowing that due to a St Helenian custom, people would stop in their cars to offer me a lift. This then provided the opportunity to ask for an interview. Because there are only two roads into the town, people from all over the island could potentially pass me in their car, enabling a diverse cross-section of country and town inhabitants, from all districts of the island, to stop and talk to me.

Once in town I approached people sat on benches, sat in the pub or coffee shop, or those working or browsing in the small number of shops. On occasion, the potential interviewee approached me in the first instance to ask who I was. Some interviewees agreed to an interview as soon as I asked them and so interviews were undertaken in a public place. Other interviewees agreed to an interview in their lunch break and so these were done in their place of work such as in shops and offices. Other interviewees made an appointment for me to visit them in their home on a different day. Only one of the on-island interviews consisted of two people being interviewed together.

To provide some context, of the 46 St Helenians I interviewed on island, 5 people had never been overseas (aged 18, 20, 37, 70 and 78), although one of these left one week after the interview to start employment on another island. Most of the interviewees had been off the island on several occasions, for a variety of reasons, including Medivac, holidays, work, education and training. For more information on each interviewee see Appendix c.

Only three St Helenians refused an interview, and an additional person cancelled an appointment as her daughter had left the island a few days earlier and she felt the interview would be too painful. However, on the contrary to what some islanders predicted, the majority of St Helenians who I approached for interview did not refuse to talk with me and so did not demonstrate a shyness of ex-pats. However, this could be a problem for the 'outsider' as I would be unaware of who was avoiding me within this small, close community.

Whilst on-island I worked within an ethnographic framework, and observed the community interactions whilst immersed within the island community for eight weeks. I also obtained an insight into life for St Helenians during my seven days on the neighbouring Ascension Island and five days at sea on the RMS. Fieldnotes were collated as an aide memoir for the research process and I made lengthy contributions to my diary each day, detailing events, conversations, the local environment, my thoughts and feelings.

Stage 2, data Collection off Island

After returning back to the UK from St Helena in December 2006, I started interviewing St Helenians living within the UK in March 2007. However, due to personal reasons I had to take a break from my research and the majority of the interviews were done between October 2008 and May 2009. On average, the interviews off-island lasted longer than those on-island.

The St Helenians approached within the UK for interview consisted of

those who were recommended to me by the St Helenian interviewees on-island, and those who were recommended to me by the off-island St Helenian interviewees. Therefore, St Helenians were approached in the UK via the means of a snowball sample. Similar to stage 1, stage 2 of my research with St Helenians living off-island did not utilize any form of random sampling and is not representative of all St Helenians living within the UK.

There is no documented evidence that states the number of St Helenians residing within the UK, nor is there information about where they live. However, high numbers of St Helenians are known to live in Cheltenham, Gloucester, London, Southampton, Oxford, Reading and particularly Swindon (commonly known by the St Helenian community as Swindelena). Most interviews were undertaken in Gloucestershire, although not all. On three occasions I interviewed two St Helenians (all were couples living together) at the same time. All interviews were done in the home of the St Helenian except one, which was undertaken in a public place. No-one refused an interview, although two St Helenians did not respond to my letters or e-mails.

In addition to the interviews with St Helenians off-island, I have a substantial insight into the lives of St Helenians living within the UK due to working within the St Helena Link Office. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, over the years of working within the Link Office I have driven St Helenian teachers and students to and from the airport, assisted St Helenians with finding accommodation in the UK, and generally got to know many of the St Helenian teachers and students reasonably well. Subsequently, I have been to some St Helenian homes for tea or on

social occasions.

Ethical Considerations

Following the British Sociological Association's (2002) statement of ethical practice, the regulations regarding professional integrity including: relations with and responsibilities towards research participants; relationships with research participants; covert research; anonymity; privacy and confidentiality were all adhered to. Before permission was sought from anyone approached for interview, anonymity and confidentiality was assured, and the purpose and subject matter of the research was made clear. I did this through a written statement, which in some cases I read to the respondent (see appendix B). Lengthy interviews, or life-story interviews, can often have an emotional effect on a respondent (Klempner, 1998, pp. 198-199) and I ensured to the best of my ability and knowledge that the interview did not cause distress in any way.

As stated previously, one person on-island cancelled my interview due to her belief that the subject of migration was too 'raw' a subject for her to deal with as her daughter had just migrated. Additionally, one interviewee off island became emotional when discussing her family back home. When I offered to stop the interview she commented on how she often becomes emotional about her family 'back home', and on the basis that the interview did not instigate unusual emotions for her, she chose to continue.

Before visiting the island I had to obtain an 'entry permit' and agree to pay a landing fee. These are the standard requirements for all visitors to St Helena (including many St Helenians who have obtained British nationality, much to their disgruntlement). Additionally, all those travelling via Ascension Island (as opposed to Cape Town) have to obtain permission to land on Ascension Island. All visitors to both islands must have pre-booked accommodation and return tickets. I contacted the St Helena Governor to ask permission to visit St Helena and permission was granted. I assured the Governor that whilst undertaking my research I would obtain the individual permission of each person I asked to interview and would work within a strict code of confidentiality and anonymity. Whilst on-island many islanders recommended that I visit the school to talk to the pupils. For these interviews I obtained the permission of the Head Teacher as well as the interviewees themselves. Whilst at the school I interviewed five sixth formers and no-one from the younger years.

Potential Problems as an Outsider

In addition to the ethical considerations discussed above, other potential problems included my position as an outsider. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 125) claim outsiders and insiders have access to different kinds of information, and indeed as an outsider on-island I found it difficult to access the raw emotion that I had been told about prior to visiting the island. When I raised in interviews the issue of emotional distress and pain when families are split due to migration, I often received a nonchalant response. Similarly, when I asked about feelings regarding the loss of citizenship in 1981, I was surprised to hear numerous responses that lacked knowledge about citizenship, or an attitude of indifference rather than the

anger I had expected.

Baldacchino (1997, cited in Skinner 2002b, p. 307) explained how islanders have become experts at silencing their hostility. Similarly, Skinner (2002b, p. 306) referred to Montserrat, as a 'muted society' due to islanders and ex-pats living within such a close proximity to each other. Cohen (1983a, p. 1) claimed how the St Helenian community had been formed through a loyalty to the UK as well as a suspicion of British 'experts' and visitors. Subsequently, as a British outsider, I may not have been exposed to any emotion, anger or trauma that I have been told exists, but rather I have witnessed the 'standardised exterior' (Richards, 1982, p. 170) that symbolically contributes to what it means to be a St Helenian.

As an outsider on the island, I often found myself overwhelmed by the web of relationships that existed on the island. Without insider knowledge I had no idea of, for example, who is related to whom, and who is enemies with whom. On one occasion I found myself telling Sharon about a woman called Samantha who I had just received a lift from, only to discover two days later that the two women were sisters and Sharon had decided not to inform me of their kinship. Indeed, I did find some people on island (what I perceived to be) secretive and guarded. Such observations became fieldnotes and understood as a symbolic characteristic of the St Helenian community. I assumed this was an example of the islanders distancing themselves from others; retaining private and public distinctions (Skinner, 2002a, p. 212); coping with the 'straight-jacket of community surveillance' (Weale, 1992, p. 9); and possibly exerting a sense of empowerment when in the presence of an expatriot.

The benefits of being an outsider on-island meant I could approach my research without any need to comply with the informal rules on the island. For example, many St Helenians directed me towards the usual key-informants on the island, for example, the councillors, the teachers and those St Helenians with higher status. Although my sample does include some St Helenians that were recommended to me, I did not specifically set out to include key-informants. On several occasions I was told I was talking to the wrong people. Should I had been an insider, I may have upset those who felt they should have been approached for interview. As an outsider, I could remain (or at least pretend to be) ignorant to these expectations.

Many islanders informed me of the positive and negative characteristics of the island and the islanders. As an outsider I was able think critically, see the ‘bigger picture’, and appreciate that such characteristics were actually not specific to the St Helenian community. One example was that some of the islanders insisted that they were either not British, or a sense of Britishness had dwindled, due to a decline in pictures of the Royal family within St Helenian homes. Being British, I am aware that this has also become a trait of the mainland. However, as mentioned previously, I am not taking perspectives at face-value or using them as ‘truth claims’ and so the accuracy of this claim is unimportant. Instead, what was important was the reference to the British Royal family, and the symbolic illustration of the arbitrary, diverse and unfixed understanding of Britishness, which contributes to the formation of St Helenianness.

Reflexivity

Although I was able to see the ‘bigger picture’, it must be acknowledged that my presence as a researcher explicitly influenced the experiences that I encountered when in the field. Cohen (1994, p. 3) highlighted how the acknowledgement of reflexivity became popular in the 1970s and 1980s, alongside a growing popularity of the work of Mead. Cohen argued that researchers need to think about their selves and how this influences the research process (1994, p. 135). An acknowledgement of reflexivity was an acknowledgement of how the respondent interacts with the researcher; how the researcher interacts with the community; and also how the respondents themselves interact within their community.

O’Reilly (2005, p. 116-117) argued that ethnography encourages reflexivity through unstructured discussions because people have the opportunity to reflect on their own thoughts and provide alternative opinions. She also argued that an ethnographer would seek to capture insider views and individual perspectives, which cannot be achieved through fixed questions or limited time constraints (O’Reilly, 2005, pp. 116-117).

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, p. 1) take the above positions further, arguing that the researcher needs to be aware of the social construction of data and knowledge, and that the knowledge they produce is merely their interpretation of the reality that is presented within the research context. They highlight how the interview process is an interpretation as the researcher subjectively determines what is important and what should be asked. Thus, data collection and transcription are

mere interpretations. Moreover, the interviewee also makes interpretations and the interview situation itself is the interviewee's interpretative take on life (2009, p. 287).

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, p. 8) refer to both reflective and reflexive empirical research. They state how some academics use these terms interchangeably. They define reflectivity however, as 'careful interpretation and reflection' (2009, p. 9). Thus, specific theoretical positions and the use of specific language within the research context have to be acknowledged and carefully considered. Moreover, 'the researcher, the relevant research community, society as a whole, intellectual and cultural traditions' also have to be considered (2009, p. 9). Thus Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, p. 9) refer to reflection as the critical 'interpretation of interpretation' within the construction of reality.

Reflexivity, however, is reflective research on several levels (2009, p. 8). For example, an acknowledgement of method *or* theoretical interpretation *or* particular community traits is reflective. However, to be reflexive is to consider all of the above, and more, and how they mutually affect each other (2009, p. 272). They thus refer to Bourdieu to argue that when in the field, the researcher will form a habitus which consists of power relations and political positions. They also argue that the aim of publishing the data will also feed into the researcher's habitus (2009, p. 8). Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, p. 9) highlight how reflexivity is a critical, multi-directional understanding of the ways of obtaining data and knowledge.

Reflexivity is thus the researcher's acknowledgement of their self, and their appreciation of their rhetorical social and political positions. A researcher needs to avoid 'empiricism, narcissism and different varieties of social and linguistic reductionism' (2009, p. 269). Researchers need to be aware of their own tendencies to try to persuade, so they 'can avoid narcissistic self-centredness' (2009, p. 270).

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, p. 273) refer to a researcher's '*repertoire of interpretations*' which they argue can potentially limit the various levels of interpretation. They give the example of how a researcher who has dedicated their career to a particular theoretical position will be emotionally attached to the theory, and this will limit and restrict their abilities in the interpretative process. Their ability to reflect will be reduced (2009, p. 273).

Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009, pp. 312-313) call for 'reflexive rigour'. They call for a need for 'deconstruction, defensive, destabilising' and 'reconstruction [and] re-presentation'. They argue for a need to shift away from preconceived ordering and categorisation, for example gender, and instead consider what is marginalised and omitted. They also argue the necessity to turn to new paradigms, metaphors, perspectives, vocabularies, values and fundamentally new interpretations for improved practices and quality research. They argue that even researchers experienced in being reflexive need to continuously re-position themselves in their attempts to remain critically reflexive (2009, p. 313).

As stated in the previous sections, I was aware of my presence as an outsider whilst in the field and I recognised examples of how I was being treated differently

due to being an outsider and also due to being British. Moreover, I was also aware of how St Helenian and non-St Helenian people had directed me towards specific people to interview. I was therefore aware and careful of the interactions that I had when in the field, and also of not being directed towards a biased sample. Moreover, in an attempt to be reflexive and overcome researcher ‘narcissistic self-centredness’ (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, p. 270) a constellation of analytical tools from four theorists was chosen for a systematic investigation of the data from four different theoretical perspectives. Thus the data was analysed using an innovative and original analytical triangulation. Such analytical triangulation will be clarified in the following section of this chapter.

Method – Story Telling and Narrative Methods

The interview schedule for those on and off the island consisted of 11 main questions, plus two further questions inviting the interviewee to add anything else. This was followed by the basic demographic questions of age, city/town/district where they live now, place of birth and occupation/s. To see the interview questions, see appendix A. For the purpose of snowball sampling, all interviewees on St Helena were asked if there were St Helenians they knew of in the UK who they could recommend that I contact when I returned to the UK. Moreover, all interviewees in the UK were asked if there were any other St Helenians who they could recommend that I contact.

The set of 11 questions were used to initiate a lengthy conversation. Thus, the semi-structured interview supported the flexibility required for an in-depth interview that created a narrative. The creation of the St Helenian narratives were

loosely guided by my interview questions but mostly guided by the St Helenians themselves. More often than not, I did not need to ask the specific research questions as they were addressed elsewhere within the conversation.

Perks and Thompson (2010, p. ix) justified the use of in-depth discussions as a research method because they claimed that the experiences of certain groups tend to be hidden from history. They argued that the powerful and the powerless can offer their own interpretations and understandings of history, and issues such as domestic or family life often go unrecorded. Opposition to the use of narratives and stories as data have arisen due to their discursive, non-theoretical approach to fact collection (Thomas, 1999, p. 49) that relies on the memory to reconstruct history accurately (Tonkin, 1995, p. 2). Subsequently, stories and narratives can only produce a subjective, culturally specific perspective on identity formation that will not allow any scope for generalization or representativeness.

Oral history has grown in the second half of the twentieth century as a research method that can significantly contribute to the understanding of past and contemporary societies (Perks and Thompson, 1998, p. 1). This is because people organize their futures in relation to their understanding of past experiences (Tonkin, 1995, p. 1). Berg (1998, p. 198) clarified the work of oral historians compared to historical researchers. Oral historians do not confirm the accuracy of the in-depth interviews by the use of written and archived documents as the latter do. Instead, oral history is more than merely creating timelines or lists of events, and is about capturing complex nuance, nostalgia and perception as an illustration of how the past has influenced the present (Berg, 1998, p. 198).

Other researchers of small communities and islands have used similar methods. Mitchell (2003) relied on personal narratives within his research on national identity and history in Malta, Maurer (1996) openly discussed national belonging with British Virgin Islanders and McDowell's (2003) research into migrant identities also relied on personal narratives:

‘New types of predominantly qualitative research have begun to listen and to represent the voices of previously unheard, exploring the social construction and the complexity and fluidity of migrants’ sense of themselves in different places, circumstances and times’
(McDowell, 2003, p2).

Galvin (2005) argued that narrative identity is a means for individuals to exercise agency as they explicitly articulate their experiences and self-perceptions of their identity. Thus, ‘identity should be viewed as a narrative which is continually under construction’ (Galvin, 2005, p. 394). People construct their identities, as well as make sense of their past and future, by locating themselves within their personal narratives. Social life is storied and stories guide action (Sommers, 1994, p. 614).

Narrative stories provide ‘face-value’ evidence as a form of fact construction (Horton-Salway, 2001, p. 156). They contain a beginning, middle and end, which involves people applying meaning to their lives (Gergen, 2003, p. 248). Within personal narratives individuals also provide ‘before and after’ stories (Horton-Salway, 2001, p. 162) that provide detailed descriptions of the meaning that is applied to identities and major events. Memories, identities and accounts of the self are constructed within talk and ‘the text is the site of dialogical reality construction’ (Horton-Salway, 2001, p. 182).

The narratives of the St Helenians provide the stories that link together the fundamental matters of: personal, family and community identity (Schrager, 1998, p. 288); as well as loss, displacement, migration, citizenship and aspirations. Each of these contributes what is St Helenianness and islandness. The stories and memories will incorporate the change, rupture and continuity that this community has experienced, and provide unique insights into cultural and historical processes. Stories thus ‘belong to the tellers repertoire of narrative, [and are] grounded in his or her life and in the social world in which that life is lived’ (Schrager, 1998, p. 285).

The narratives will not just be taken at face value for ‘truth claims’ and instead will also be applied to a rigorous culturalist analytical analysis for both ‘truth claims’ and narrative repertoires. This will award this thesis with an additional post-structuralist understanding of language, which recognises the nuance and complexity, of individuals and communities. However, before I move on to explain the analytical framework, I will now move on from the methodological framework of in-depth interviews embedded in an ethnographic framework, and explain the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism.

As stated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, Hay (2006, p. 31-34) called for Island Studies to follow the theoretical framework of phenomenology, whereby islanders are investigated through their own lived experience. However, similar to the richness and depth of the theoretical tool of phenomenology, I decided my research would be driven by the theoretical tool of symbolic interactionism to enable a nuanced and thematic assessment of the meanings in play on the island, because human worlds are symbolically and linguistically constructed (Prus, 1996, p. 11). Within this thesis

I will thus investigate the stories of the St Helenians through the symbols, discourses and ideologies that demonstrate islandness, St Helenianness and Britishness.

The Theoretical Framework

What this chapter has demonstrated so far is that my research is using the methodological tool of ethnography. Moreover, its principle method is in-depth interviews, which provide the narratives and stories of the islanders. However, moving beyond the use of the data as thick description and to incorporate an understanding of the individual alongside the social structures, the theoretical approach of symbolic interactionism will be applied to the data. The theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism and the methodological approach of ethnography, provide the necessary tools for community research, and an understanding of language use by specific communities (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006, p. xx).

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical tool that examines human experience through their interaction. Individuals are social beings and are formed through interaction with others (Tonkin, 1995, p. 12). Certain groups of people adopt certain realities through community interaction and shared linguistic realities, and subsequently create a consensus of meanings that are attached to specific social phenomena (Prus, 1996, p. 10).

Charon (2004, p. 39) argued that perspectives are a form of bias incorporating value judgements and assumptions, leading individuals to their perceptions, which direct them to their social action. He therefore claimed symbolic interactionism is the necessary social psychological approach to understanding society, which focuses on interpersonal influence. Symbolic interactionism can be used to theoretically understand how groups can internally form attitudes through feelings and behaviours. Moreover, it can assist with an understanding of how external influences form attitudes due to conformity, obedience, power and leadership.

Charon claimed 'language is a special kind of symbol' (2004, p. 52) and 'perceptions are a set of symbols' (2004, p 54). Language comprises words and words become symbols that describe all social objects. Thus, fluid and dynamic words and symbols, replace physical and material reality. Human beings rely on symbols for social reality and social life. Language is therefore the vehicle for human interaction:

Human society depends on ongoing *symbolic communication*. Communication means sharing, and sharing is one very important way that society is held together. Very complex forms of cooperation occur because human beings are able to discuss with one another how to resolve problems that they face.... We correct one another, encourage one another, disagree with one another, and direct one another, we are able to work together... Groups have histories, and a long history means a very large corpus of knowledge. It is by means of symbols that the past is recorded

(Charon, 2004, p. 63).

Charon (2004, p. 145) claimed symbolic interactionism can be used to demonstrate how one's perception of oneself is what forms an individual's identity.

Thus, the notion of the self arises out of social interaction with others. Prus also claimed 'identity work' (1996, p. 152) is dependent upon symbolic interactionsim for the insight into self-reflexivity. Individuals contrast themselves to others using 'you' and 'I' as they associate themselves with some, and position themselves as distinct from others.

Identity and Community

Throughout this thesis, reference has been made to how the research is an investigation of the St Helenian community and also the St Helenian identity. Thus, such terms need to be clarified in the context of this research. Cohen (2000a, p. 3) argued that the conceptual term 'identity' has in some respects lost its value due to being overused and misused. Cohen however, awarded much value to the term and he was careful to define it.

Cohen argued how individuals conform to particular societal expectations, and similar to Charon (2004, p. 145) above, determined that social and personal identity is formed through behaviour with others (1994, p. 9). This, he argued, supports the work of Mead and the traditions of American symbolic interactionism. Cohen also referred to the work of Goffman, who like Mead perceived personal identity to be a result of interaction with 'significant others' (1994, p. 10).

Cohen (1987, p. 14) also defined the term 'community'. He argued that the term simultaneously implies similarity and difference; similarity within a group and distinction from others. Thus boundaries become symbolic entities, with members

investing in common forms of meaning through their personal idiosyncratic uses of symbols and meanings. Outsiders tend not to notice or recognise the meanings in play. Cohen (1994, p. 11) thus believed that the personal identity of an individual extends beyond a sense of the self to a collective sense of identity.

Cohen (1994, p. ix) argued that ethnographers should avoid understating the complexity of individuals and avoid trying to make generalisations about communities. Instead he argued that the self and society 'are mutually implicated'. Nonetheless, he added that although anthropologists should not crudely generalise about a society, due to the nuances within a group, groups do however share:

‘a modicum of agreement ... [whereby] however little the members actually share with each other, it must be more than they share with members of, what they recognise as, other groups
(Cohen, 1994, p. 17).

Diversity can thus come together, without contradiction, through ‘skills, humour, dialect, social organisation’, thus symbolically demonstrating the integrity and testimony of local identity (Cohen, 1987, p. 82). However, when necessary, a community may display an over-generalised and homogenous existence. Remote, vulnerable and powerless communities may demonstrate an apparently homogenous appearance in an attempt to appear compliant with more powerful communities. For example, powerless communities may change their fashions, diets and media. Cohen questioned how communities survive when they appear to be subverting themselves. He confirmed the answer is due to a recognised sense of identity formed through a collective and powerful sense of the self (Cohen, 1987, p. 17). This he argued, is

maintained through symbols of identity and symbols of community, nonetheless the meaning behind the symbols stems from the community members themselves:

‘Symbols do not carry meanings inherently. They give us the capacity to make meaning. The same is true of symbolic boundaries ... held in common by its members, but its meaning varies with its members’ unique orientations to it’ (Cohen, 1987, p. 16).

Cohen (1987, p. 14) argued that community symbols are more complex than formal state, religious or ethnic based boundaries, because they are mental constructs. Moreover, he noted how some societies coerce members into similar and orthodox meanings through initiation rituals, for example. However, such imposed meanings are rarely entirely fixed (1994, p. 20). Thus, although communities are spoken of as though they are entities, with homogenous public opinions for example, communities are actually made up of a multitude of diverse opinions and voices, which are underpinned by a multitude of diverse experiences. Thus, it is the community symbols that demonstrate the community boundaries, through the meanings the community members attach to the symbols. Cohen argued:

‘Symbols enable individuals to experience and express their attachment to a society or group without compromising their individuality. Indeed the members of a group may be unlikely to recognise the idiosyncratic uses to which each puts their shared symbols, so that they are unaware of these distortions of meaning’ (Cohen, 1994, p. 19).

Moreover, individual identities are restricted due to state enforced collective categories (1994, p. 12). Contradictions within a group can arise not only due to differences between individuals within a group, but also due to differences between the individual and the state. However, the differences need to be ‘resolved and

reconciled' for a collective group to be coherent and recognise their difference to other groups (1994, p. 11).

Similar to the concept of identity, Cohen argued that the concept of 'boundary' is also misused (2000a, p. 3). Cohen thus referred to 'peripheral wisdom' to be a boundary formed upon knowledge and this is how he explains national identity. He argued that, like personal identity, national identity 'is the product of reflection on different ways of being, different planes of existence, different spheres of experience' (Cohen, 2000b, p. 167). Ancestry and place of birth can become 'signposts, like compass bearings, that direct social orientation' regarding public identities (Cohen, 1987, p. 61).

Cohen argued that the nation is a mental construct formed through the self and through self-experience. Differences in individual perception within a particular national identity is overcome because even if its meaning differs amongst the group of people, there is still a component of the symbol, or in this instance the nation, which is real and materially shared (Cohen, 2000b, p. 147). Thus, for Cohen (2000b, p. 147), symbols are interpretations, constructions and formulations of something that has an underlying real existence. Cohen gives the example of 'Scottishness', which is a concept based upon a real geographical location yet the meanings attached to 'Scottishness' are so diverse it is almost meaningless. It does nonetheless, mean non-Englishness (Cohen, 2000b, p. 147) and this is what would unify the meaning of Scottishness. He made the point that:

'cultural forms, such as language, ritual and other symbolic constructions, are made meaningful and substantial by people's

interpretations of them. They are given life by being made meaningful. We may well regard these symbols as being compelling: the flag, the tomb, the soldier's slouch hat, the mateship and the booze. But the power they exercise lie in providing us with the means by which to think' (Cohen, 1994, pp. 166-167).

Cohen thus confirmed that national identity is underpinned by a local consciousness and similarly local identity is underpinned by individual consciousness. Moreover, for Cohen, society is greater than its sum of its parts, but nonetheless it is what individuals perceive it to be. 'The self has primacy in the creation of locality, in rendering boundaries meaningful, in the interpretation of national identity' (Cohen, 1994, p. 132).

Cohen's use of the concepts of identity and community are pertinent to this thesis as they provide purchase on the ways in which the St Helenian community have an awareness of who they are as individuals and as community members. Moreover, they have an awareness of who they are not. The concepts of identity and community thus provide the basis for the analysis chapters (chapters 4, 5 and 6) as the analytical tools of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin will be used for an investigation of the St Helenian identity and community. Within these chapters the idiosyncratic meanings St Helenians attach to their selves and their communities, and the symbols that are used to carry such meanings, will be investigated.

As stated above, Cohen argued that social and personal identity is formed through behaviour with others (1994, p. 9) and this is something which will be explored, particularly in chapter 4 using the concepts of Althusser as well as chapter 6 using the concepts of Bakhtin. Moreover, Cohen (1987, p. 14) argued that the term 'community' simultaneously implies similarity within a group and distinction from

others. This will particularly be explored in chapter 5 through the concepts of Bourdieu. Additionally, Cohen (1987, p. 82) and Plummer (1983, p. 68) both argued that social reality consists of chaotic and contradictory personal narratives, which nonetheless make sense to individuals and to the communities to which they belong (Plummer, 1983, p. 68). This will be explored in chapter 6. This thesis will now move on to explore the use of symbolic interactionism and the use of personal narratives within community and identity research.

Symbolic Interactionism and Narratives

Plummer (1995, p. 20) claimed ‘story telling can be placed at the heart of symbolic interactionism’ and he referred to the use of stories as the ‘fourth wave of ethnography’ (1995, p. 12). Plummer argued the need for a ‘sociology of stories’ (Plummer, 1995, p. 17) that draws from personal narratives to investigate everyday life and everyday phenomenon. For Plummer, personal narratives illustrate how individuals create their own identities, which are grounded in history and structured within, for example, gender, race and class.

Personal narratives also demonstrate and capture the ambiguous, problematic, chaotic, confusing, contradictory and ironic nature of social reality (Plummer, 1983, p. 68). Plummer (1995, p. 16) argued that stories are socially constructed through experience, thought and feeling, and such stories include emotions, decisions, choices, constraints and controls. Subsequently, stories are often embedded in passion, action and self-analysis, and are accompanied by rage, tears, anger and silence. Subsequently, Plummer argued the need for what had

previously been disregarded as epiphenomena to be taken seriously (Plummer, 1983, p. 2).

Stories and narratives, as collected via the interviews, will thus be used within all three of the following data chapters for an investigation of how the St Helenian community symbolically narrate the meanings they have attached to islandness, St Helenianness and Britishness. Symbolic interactionism is thus the theoretical tool that will be used to examine the St Helenian community through their interaction with each other, as well as their interaction with ‘others’. Through their stories they articulate their own social lives, experiences and decisions, and the meanings and emotions that are attached.

To enhance the investigation further, an analytical framework has been chosen to support the symbolic interactionist approach to the data analysis. For a culturalist and post-structuralist analysis of language, which recognizes nuance and complexity within language and community life, a triangulation of analytical frameworks has been specifically chosen for an investigation of structure and agency, continuity and discontinuity, rupture and survival, island and islandness.

The analytical concepts of four cultural theorists will be triangulated for an investigation of the meanings in play within this island community. Their analytical concepts and theories will be used in a symbolic interactionist way, for an analysis of the St Helenian idiosyncratic repertoires and public narratives, which will support a symbolic and cultural investigation of St Helenianness and islandness.

The Analytical Framework

Despite their differences, in many ways the four theorists used within this analytical framework complement each other. The analytical framework will comprise of Althusser (chapter 4), Bourdieu (chapter 5), Plummer and Bakhtin (chapter 6). I will blend their concepts and tools together for a triangulated, nuanced and culturalist constellation of analytical perspectives. This will enable a close examination of islands and islandness, and produce a more textured account of the contradictory processes in play on the island, from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

Within this chapter, I will now explain why their concepts and theories thematically fit my research, and why the data needs their theories and concepts to assist with the interrogation of the pertinent material issues and meanings in play on the island, for the islanders. Before I start to blend the concepts of the theorists, I will introduce their work individually, in the sequential order of this thesis and its chapters. I will start with the analytical concepts of Althusser.

Althusser A Rejoinder: The State, History & Epiphenomenon

Althusser's analytical concepts have been chosen for an investigation of how the top-down power of the UK has taken influence over the island community. However, I will be using Althusser in a neo-Althusserian way. Considered a structuralist (Benton, 2008, p. 227), Althusser awarded no agency and rejected some social phenomenon as epiphenomenon and so as irrelevant. Because of this and for other reasons, Althusser's work has been so heavily criticised that his theories barely

feature within contemporary Marxism (Jameson, 2001, p. vii). Subsequently, within this thesis I argue that Althusser's concepts are essential for an investigation of this state structured society, but only because I will use them in a post-structuralist, culturalist way. Thus, I will start with a critique of Althusser's work.

Althusser was a Marxist philosopher who, like Marx, perceived society to be dominated by economic forces (Althusser, 1971). However, for Marx, societal domination took place through State Apparatus, which is explicit domination and violence, supported by the criminal justice systems, the military and dictatorship. Indeed, the population on the island of St Helena was established in this way. Previous to the 1900s, the island's history over the past 400 years has been dominated by imperialism and colonialism, which was characterised by a presence of military and soldiers, masters and slaves.

The colonial systems of explicit force on the island no longer exist, yet the island remains controlled by the British and has been referred to part of the 'permanent empire' (Drower, 1992). In contrast to Marx, Althusser argued that the state superstructure retains absolute power because it implicitly dominates through ideology as opposed to force. For Althusser, ideology is the process that transforms an imaginary and false understanding of the social world into a real condition of existence. Thus, it is ideology that forms the dialectic, in other words, the economic relationship between men and the mode of production. Due to the presence of Britishness on the island, I thus argue that the analytical tools of Althusser retain value within my thesis.

Within his work, Althusser argued that agents are not influenced by history, but instead are formed as subjects through their ideological consciousness, that has been formed due to the current economic superstructure. Thus history bears no influence on the actions of agents whatsoever. Moreover, Althusser not only rejected history as an influence on subject formation, but also rejected Hegel's idealist philosophies to subject formation and subject identity. Thus, whereas Hegel argued that the human mind creates the material world, Althusser claimed it to be the social and economic structures that creates the material world.

Thompson damned Althusser's work for his denial of any historical and social content (1979, p. 287). Thompson highlighted that during periods of, for example, starvation, genocide, imprisonment and unemployment, the survivors actually think and act upon their thoughts for themselves, and so to deny history and empirical phenomenon is wrong. Moreover Callinicos (1976, p. 77), Jameson (2001, p. xi) and Thompson (1979, p. 196), highlighted the irony behind Althusser's work on ideology and subject formation. They argued that if ideology is the process that transforms an imaginary and false understanding of the social world into a real condition of existence, then this is actually idealist. In other words, Althusser unintentionally admitted that a truism can only take place in thought. Subsequently, Thompson referred to Althusser's work as a 'theatre of the absurd' (1979, p. 224). Althusser rejected idealism yet his own theories are idealist.

Callinicos claimed Althusser eventually rescued his work from his critiques by separating his work from any notion of epistemology. Subsequently, Althusser was successful in producing a theory of class struggle and an

understanding of how the domination of the economy is disguised by society as a whole (Callinicos, 1976, p. 89). Supporting Callinicos, I argue that Althusser's theories on ideology, which provides a state structured and economic structured account of social formation (Callinicos, 1976, p. 61), are pertinent for an understanding of an entirely state structured society such as St Helena. However, as previously stated, I will use the theory in a post-Althusserian way. I will thus include alongside Althusser's theories, the very phenomena that Thompson called for in Althusser's work, and which Althusser himself rejected as epiphenomena.

Thompson argued that what was missing from Althusser's theories was the acknowledgement that people consist of experiences, ideas, thoughts and feelings. Moreover, they control, negotiate and manage their feelings within their culture (Thompson, 1976, p. 363). Thus, Thompson called for a defence of the human personality and value choices (1979, p. 381), and an acknowledgement of the dialogue between social beings and their social consciousness (1979, p. 201).

An investigation of the St Helenian community thus requires a post-Althusserian analysis. Such analysis can inform an investigation of the formation of identities and social consciousness, alongside rigid state structures and the experiences, feelings and reflections of human agents. Jameson (2001, p. vii) wrote that 'it seems possible today that we are in a position to return to Althusser's work ... in a new way, and make a new assessment of it'. This is exactly what I intend to do and I will subsequently draw upon Althusser's concepts of Overdetermination, Contradiction and Ideological State Apparatus, in a post-Althusserian way.

Althusser: Contradiction and Overdetermination

Althusser (1971) claimed an overdetermined cycle occurs within society. The economy displaces its dominance through an event, the displacements disguise the domination, and so the economy is no longer attributed to any particular cause. Thus, the domination is attributed to the structure of the whole, when really the domination is actually determined by the economy (Callinicos, 1976, p. 52). Within this thesis, I argue that the event that disguises the domination of the economy on St Helena is the geography of the island, its remoteness and its supposed subsequent helplessness. The repressive and dominating post-colonial discourses thus continue, disguised and legitimized by the island's geography.

Althusser (1971) argued that contradictions occur as a consequence of the unevenness of the economy. These are unified and smoothed by the event that unifies the whole. Thus, contradictions occur as a consequence of the island's economic structure, yet these are smoothed over and justified due to the island's remoteness. Thus, for Althusser, it is the contradictions and overdetermination which unifies the whole (Callinicos, 1976, p. 46).

As we shall see as this thesis progresses, the islanders are not completely convinced that the economy on the island is a 'natural' consequence of the island's geographical location. Nonetheless, in many respects the islanders accept the situation and continue to explicitly argue that the island *needs* the British economic model, as justified by the island's geography. However, I argue that what actually justifies the domination of the British economic model over the island, is the

ideology of Britishness. This is not a new argument and has been documented within the work of Cohen (1983), Royle (1991), Gillet (1983).

The analytical tools of Althusser are thus necessary for an insight, into not only the superstructures on the island which have become justified due to geography and remoteness, but also *how* the islander's are structured by their psychological awareness of who they are. A post-structuralist use of Althusser can enhance the work of Cohen and Gillet, and investigate what the islanders have justified as the norm, through the narratives of the islanders themselves. Moreover, through investigating what Althusser rejected as epiphenomenon, a post-structural analysis can investigate the feelings of frustration, anger and resentment that have occurred as a consequence of the islanders awareness of their state structured existence. Thus, the analytical concept of Ideological State Apparatus is necessary for an understanding of the psychological structures on the island, which support the material structures. This thus contributes to an understanding of St Helenianness, Britishness and islandness.

Institutional State Apparatus & Interpellation

Althusser (2008) believed that societal domination and power takes place through ISAs. Thus, power and domination are embedded within religious institutions (churches), educational institutions (schools), the family, the legal system, the political system, trade unions, media and communications, and culture (Althusser, 2008, p. 17). Although the ISAs are diverse and even contradictory in their material existence and nature, they are unified by ideology, in other words, the ideology of

the ruling class (Althusser, 2008, p. 7). For example, the education system teaches academic subjects such as history, science and literature, but additionally teach ethics and civic instruction. This informs individuals on what to believe, how to behave, and that they need to conform (Althusser, 2008, p. 29).

Ideological state apparatus is thus a system of myths, ideas and concepts that form a material existence because individuals and groups adopt the specific behaviours, practices and attitudes that the ISAs teach them (Althusser, 2008, p. 39). ISAs use practices such as discipline, expulsion, selection and praise, to discipline individuals and teach them the current social order, for a life of acceptance and an ability to function within 'the norm' (Althusser, 2008, p. 19). Althusser thus brings together the work of psychoanalysts and Marxism, by combining 'the real, the symbolic and the imaginary' into an understanding of subject formation (Jameson, 2001, p. xiii).

Because, according to Althusser (2008, p. 34), ideology has no history, language and the symbolic are subject to change according to the society it is embedded in. Language thus forms the subject according to the contemporary status quo. Language is therefore a representation of the current ideological system. It operates within everyday life and brings the subject to an understanding, which informs their real conditions of existence (Althusser, 2008, p. 36).

Althusser used the term 'interpellation' (2008, p. 56) to describe the process whereby individuals recognise themselves, recognise others, and recognise

the existing state of affairs. Through interpellation, individuals become subjects of their social world, or in Althusser's Marxist terms, subjects of a capitalist society.

'The individual is interpellated as a (free) subject in order that he shall submit freely to the commandments of the Subject, i.e. in order that he shall (freely) accept his subjection, i.e. in order that he shall make the gestures and actions of his subjection 'all by himself'. There are no subjects except by and for their subjection. That is why they 'work all by themselves'.
(Althusser, 2008, p. 56)

Within this thesis, the social-psychological perspective of Althusser can thus assist with an understanding of identity formation, for the St Helenians existing within a state structured society. Moreover, it can inform this thesis of how the islanders come to recognise themselves as British citizens, even during times when they have been officially denied British citizenship. Due to the ISAs on the island being dominated by British systems, Britishness is perpetually in existence on the island.

So far this thesis has identified the analytical concepts that can help explain how the British economic model remains justified on the island and also how Britishness has become naturalised on the island. However, what has not yet been justified is the position of the state structured British economy within the whole. In other words, how would the processes of migration fit into their understanding of their structured existence on the island.

The Means of Production, Nothingness & An Empty Canvas

Althusser argued that for the means of production to survive, production must become an 'endless chain'. This chain includes capital, production, consumption and surplus value. Each of these are supported by labour, which is supported by workers needing a wage (Althusser, 2008, p. 3). For a competent labour force, capitalist society thus needs to provide 'apprenticeships' ready for the means of production and reproduction, and this is done through an education (Althusser, 2008, p. 30). The purpose of education therefore, is threefold. It teaches the ruling classes the ability to manipulate and exploit the workers. It also teaches the prospective workers the skills required for labour and their necessary submissiveness to the ruling established order (Althusser, 2008, p. 6-7). It also teaches workers the desire to 'achieve', through accumulating capital and material possessions. The strength of education, as an ISA, is its ability to smooth over any contradictions that come as a result of capitalism and subordination (Althusser, 2008, p. 23).

"It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable', squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them Somewhere around the age of sixteen, a huge mass of children are ejected 'into production'

(Althusser, 2008, p. 29)

Althusser claimed that through ideological state apparatus, individuals become subjects of the social system, and subordinate puppets with no scope for human agency (Benton, 2008, p. 234). Callinicos argued that Althusser's subject formation fits well with capitalist ideology because it provides the meaning that disguises exploitation and the meaninglessness that individuals experience from the

capitalist system. In other words, capitalist exploitation is actually neo-colonialism (Althusser, 2001b p. 64). Moreover, individuals within the capitalist structure recognise themselves, and appreciate that as long as he conforms ‘there is a place for him, an assurance is offered’ (Callinicos, 1976, p. 66).

Althusser thus claimed humans to be a concrete form of an abstract phenomenon. Due to the ISAs of education for example, it is ideology not history that forms the subject (Callinicos, 1976, p. 66). Althusser (2001c) referred to the expressionist painter Cremonini for an example of how this works. Althusser claimed Cremonini’s art is abstract, not in the traditional sense of abstract art, but rather Cremonini offers no meaningful depiction within his work (2001c, p. 158). Thus Cremonini does not even depict counter discourses. Instead, he paints pictures with no recognisable meaning. Thus, according to Althusser, to refer to Cremonini as an expressionist was a misunderstanding (2001c, p. 157).

Cremonini painted faces as inexpressive and thus void of any sense of recognisable reality. ‘They are haunted by an absence’ and this is the absence of ideology (Althusser, 2001c, p. 164). Althusser referred to Cremonini’s work as ‘the passive body of an island’, on the edge of emptiness, to capture nothingness (Althusser, 2001c, p. 159). He depicts an absence of ideology, a lack of history and a refusal of the recognisable. Cremonini therefore demonstrated how phenomenon only makes sense when embedded within an ideological language. Althusser thus argued that every language is an ideological language, and therefore language is a vehicle of ideology (Althusser, 2001c, p. 166).

Althusser's use of Cremonini can thus be applied to the island of St Helena. As was discussed within the Prelude, the closest land to St Helena is South Africa and Central America, yet St Helenians do not identify with, or recognise such cultures, as being their ancestors (Cohen, 1983). Instead, they are ideologically linked with Britain. Thus, like one of Cremonini's paintings, St Helena is an island, on the edge of nothing ideologically recognisable that offers any sense of familiarity. Thus it is Britishness, not its closest landmark South Africa, that underpins their ideological language. It is the British ISAs on the island that informs the islanders of who they are.

Althusser, Triangulation & Survivals

Althusser himself, recognised the need for more research that investigates how communities survive. Similar to the quote at the start of the Prelude by James, a St Helenian, Althusser raised the need for further research into how cultures survive:

'Marxist political practice is constantly coming up against that reality known as *'survivals'*, there can be no doubt that these survivals exist-they cling tenaciously to life What is a *'survival'*? What is its theoretical status? Is it essentially social or 'psychological'? Can it be reduced to the survival of certain economic *structures* ... Or does it refer as much to *other structures*, political, ideological structures, etc.: *customs, habits*, even '*traditions*' such as the '*national tradition*' with its specific traits? Even the term '*survival*' is constantly invoked, but it is still virtually uninvestigated, not in its *name* (it has one!), but *in its concept*. ... If we return to Hegel for a second we see the survival of the past ... reduced to the modality of a *memory*, ... How are we *to think these survivals*? ... superstructures, ideologies 'national traditions' or the customs and 'spirit' of a people, etc?'

(Althusser, 1971, p. 114-115)

Althusser questioned whether the basis of a community is economic, social or psychological, political or ideological. Moreover, Althusser questioned whether a survival, or a community, continues due to customs, habits or traits, or whether a survival continues due to national traditions, memories, or 'the spirit' of the community. Within this thesis I argue it is a constellation of all of these issues and have thus chosen four theorists to investigate the phenomenon that Althusser himself highlighted. As stated earlier within this chapter, a triangulated approach is required for a more nuanced and cultural understanding of St Helenianness and islandness. Thus, even though my use of a post-Althusserian analysis provides the purchase into understanding a state structured existence, a post-Althusserian analysis on its own does not provide the breadth of analysis required to fully understand St Helenianness or islandness.

Within his critique of Althusser, Thompson (1979, p. 366) highlighted the work of Bourdieu, for an understanding of how values are not only ideologically imposed upon a community, but are also created from within a culture. Thus, values reflect the meanings that are embedded within a culture and hence offer another angle on reality. Values 'are the necessary norms, rules, expectations... learned within the *habitus* of living; and learned, in the first place, within the family, at work, and within the immediate community' (Thompson, 1979, p. 367).

Jameson (2001, p. xii) stated that Bourdieu actually adopted Althusser's theory on ideology and institutional state apparatus and the concepts of Bourdieu will aid the investigation into St Helenianness and islandness. This will be through an analysis of the islanders' customs, habits and traits, which stabilises and supports

continuity during times of rupture and change. Complementing the theories of Althusser, this chapter will now move on to discuss the analytical concepts of Bourdieu.

Bourdieu: The Cultural Field and The Habitus

Unlike the analytical concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu's concepts aptly awards this thesis more purchase on agency. For example, Bourdieu (2009a, p. 176) claimed that the field of cultural production provide for individual agents who are involved within them, a space for them to live within, and to a certain extent, collectively create their own culture. 'Cultural fields' thus consist of the rules, regulations, values, institutions and discourses of a culture. This in turn creates the habitus, which is the site of particular attitudes and practices (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. 15). The habitus encompasses a group of members who share commonalities such as an occupation, income, education or particular geographical space (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 96).

The habitus is durable, and attitudes and practices are subject to modification when narratives and explanations lose their value and meaning, and no longer make sense (Webb et al, 2002, p. 41). Thus, for Bourdieu, the habitus is a site of linguistic interaction (Bouveresse, 1999, p. 59), and a linguistic habitus is the official speech or official discourse of group membership (Butler, 1999, p. 122). Through language, the habitus is a learned process that becomes the outcome of an uncalculated process that begins when someone is very young (Johnson, 2009, p. 5). It is a naturalised form of inclination that lasts throughout an individual's lifetime.

“The habitus is sometimes described as a ‘feel for the game’, a practical sense’ ... that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated and that is not simply a question of conscious obedience to the rules. Rather it is a set of dispositions which generates practices and perceptions”.
(Johnson, 2009, p. 5).

Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002, p. 15) attempted to clarify Bourdieu’s notion of the habitus. They argued that Bourdieu rejected the grand narratives of Marxism, structuralism and psychoanalysis for an explanation of social life and instead turned to social and cultural contexts. They argued that the habitus refers to belief systems which are underpinned by agents’ unconscious use of ‘contexts, laws, rules and ideologies’ (2002, p. 15), created within history and culture, and which continue to manifest themselves through individuals, through their practices.

Bourdieu (2005 cited in Margolis 1999, p. 68) thus argued that belief is not just a state of mind but rather also a state of the body. Margolis clarified that what Bourdieu meant is that what appears to be spontaneous speech and behaviour is actually a reaction to what has been learnt as common sense or a familiar script, which is acted out. Subsequently, the habitus overcomes the disjunction between the mind and body (Margolis, 1999, p. 69). Thus, the concept of the habitus is used to explain, not just what someone learns as knowledge, but what somebody actually is. In other words, the habitus does not describe perception due to knowledge, nor is it a choice of behaviours and actions that agents make based upon knowledge. Rather, the habitus is a concept that explains how agents are preconditioned through culture, into a form of an internalized competence, which feeds into the movements, choices and strategies that they make (Margolis, 1999, p. 77-79).

Bourdieu argued that reality exists in two ways. The first way is where the social world encompasses people and produces who people are. The second way is where the agent comprehends the social world that encompasses them and applies their own thought processes to their interactions within the social world (Bourdieu cited in Webb et al., 2002, p. 18). In other words, 'he feels at home in the world because the world is also in him, in the form of the habitus' (Bourdieu cited in Webb et al, 2002, p. 25). This form of social reproduction takes place within the family, the school, within employment and all societal institutions and practices. Thus, the habitus is the means through which norms and values are instilled, reaffirmed, recalculated in multi-directional ways (Webb et al., 2002, p. 116).

Through the concept of habitus, Bourdieu overcomes the 'subjectivist-objectivist split' (Webb et al., 2002, p. 32). In other words, he demonstrates that agents are not just the mindless dupes that passively consume ideologies, as Marxists believe. However, in some respects they do conform to the rules, regulations, sign systems and myths of their society (Webb et al, 2002, p. 33). Subsequently, behaviour is informed by agency but this needs to be understood within the context of the structures of a culture and the limitations imposed by a particular cultural field (Webb et al., 2002, p. 36). Practices and behaviours are thus simultaneous conscious and unconscious practices and behaviours. Agents do behave in strategic ways, to use the rules of the game to their advantage. At the same time, they are influenced and even driven by the socially constructed rules, regulations and expectations that are embedded within the habitus (Webb et al., 2002, p. 58).

Margolis (1999, p. 80) confirmed that the habitus signifies the collective fluency of social life. Speech is the power of the habitus for it awards agents with a form of knowledge, which they can use in a fluid way. The habitus is fluid because, although it consists of cultural rules and regulations, such rules and regulations are actually arbitrary because ‘there is nothing natural or essential about the values we hold, the desires we pursue, or the practices in which we engage’ (Webb, et al., 2002, p. 38). Bourdieu argued that social norms, values and regulations can only work effectively if they are used unconsciously. Bourdieu thus argued that for history to reproduce itself, history in some instances must be forgotten (Webb et al., 2002, p. 16).

The habitus subsequently naturalises itself alongside the cultural rules, agendas and values which make it possible. Moreover, particular forms of conditioning in turn form particular types of existence, which in turn form shared cultural trajectories. This then produces the habitus, which can be informed by class affiliations, for example (Webb et al., 2002, p. 40). Although agents act in confined and restricted ways due to the norms of their society, they also possess the quality and ability to modify the norms to make them appropriate for their experiences and needs (Robbins, 2000, p. 26 -27). The habitus therefore, enables old values to exist in new behaviour (Robbins, 2000, p. 28).

The habitus is thus the set of durable dispositions, which shape attitudes and behaviours at the level of the conscious and unconscious. The habitus is found within peoples’ thought processes and decision-making practices, but also at the level of the body as instinct and naturalised forms of movement. This applies not

only to the individual but also to particular collective groups. Each person may be different and have different experiences, but nonetheless find themselves in collective, common, often mundane situations (Webb et al., 2002, p. 115). This is partially due to the state, which creates conditions that appear natural and inevitable, and also necessary for the supposed common good (Webb et al., 2002, p. 93).

Communities, such as the St Helenian community, can therefore have shared perspectives on the world, which leads them to ‘believe and behave in particular ways’ (Webb et al., 2002, p. 93). Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus thus awards this thesis purchase into an understanding of who St Helenians are in mind and body. This is because the fluid and arbitrary cultural rules and regulations of the St Helenian community, have become naturalised, internalised and have assisted in the formation of the individuals of the St Helenian community. Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus thus awards this thesis purchase how the St Helenian community embody cultural rules and regulations, structure and agency, change and continuity.

Bourdieu: *The Space of Possibles*

For Bourdieu (2010, p. 118) a space or cultural field can be an imagined space, with an imagined set of values and practices that have evolved as a consequence of, for example, class, nationality or age, or a combination of these. Additionally, the cultural field can also be a ‘real’ geographical space’ which awards or denies the agents within a particular field the access to particular resources:

‘a group’s real social distance from certain assets must integrate the geographical distance, which itself depends on the group’s spatial

distribution and, more precisely, its distribution with respect to the 'focal point' of economic and cultural values, i.e. Paris or the major regional centres (in some careers – e.g. in the postal banking system – employment or promotion entails a period of exile). Thus, the distance of farm workers from legitimate culture would not be so vast if the specifically cultural distance implied by their low cultural capital were not so compounded by their spatial dispersion' (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 118).

Within each cultural field is thus the *space of possibles*, which determines what is possible or impossible for social agents. Possibilities depend upon time and space, and agents can only work with what their contemporary social environment can offer (Bourdieu, 2009a, p. 176). Possibilities however, also depend upon the actual interests of the agents within that field, their strategies and trajectories. The field is thus the potential force of energy that provides the site for struggles, depending on the possibilities available (Bourdieu, 2009a, p. 183). Such struggles can, for example, preserve or transform established power relationships already within the field. However, shifts can only take place when the habitus, i.e. the attitudes and practices within a field, are ready to provide the necessary support and resources to enable such shifts to take place (Bourdieu, 2009a, p. 183).

Change therefore, is simultaneously dependent on the habitus, the collective agency of individuals and the decline of old structures. Thus, complementing the structural concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu's analytical tools allow for a consideration of how agency works alongside structure; dependent upon time and space:

'the shift from one trajectory to another often depends on collective events - wars, crises etc. -or individual events – encounters, affairs, benefactors etc. – when, that is, they are not deliberately contrived by

institutions (clubs, family reunions, old-boys' or alumni associations etc.)'
(Bourdieu, 2010, p. 104)

Because agents have the agency to make choices, but such choices continue to be defined by structures, agents do not have complete agency to move around the field or *space of possibles* in a random way (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 104). Thus, although Bourdieu noted how agents who occupy the same field or *space of possibles* do not necessarily run in the same direction, and indeed some run in opposite direction to the rest of the community, 'this does not mean that their practices are not marked by the collective destiny' (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 106).

The analytical tools of Bourdieu can thus further enhance an understanding of islandness, Britishness and St Helenianness, by directing an investigation of the island as a real geographical space, but one which has been layered with an imagined set of rules, regulations, values, institutions and discourses. Moreover, the island has a unique *space of possibles*, which in the past fifty years has experienced various shifts in structures and the freedom of movement. Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, can therefore provide the necessary insight into how the islanders move within their *space of possibles*, not only as a consequence of agency alongside material structures, but also as a consequence of agency alongside structures of feelings. In other words, Bourdieu's cultural framework offers a nuanced investigation of material and ideological structures alongside the structures that occur due to the values and emotions of the community.

Capital, Distinction & Symbolic Violence

Within his work, Bourdieu referred to many different forms of power, which are found in different strengths, within different habituses and fields. For Bourdieu, power is simultaneous with capital. Indeed, migration scholars have applied various concepts of capital for an understanding of how, for example, families can be fluid and remain intact as well as provide support, even when geographically dispersed (see Levitt, 2001; Zontini, 2006; 2007). Thus Bourdieu's specific concepts of economic, cultural and symbolic capital awards the purchase into differing forms of capital, each of which can encourage, support and cement the migratory process for the St Helenian islanders.

Economic Capital, for example, is based upon the power that comes with financial resources. In comparison, *Symbolic Capital* can consist of academic capital, such as qualifications, as well as prestige and honour. This can include *Social Capital*, which is 'a capital of social connections, honourability and respectability' (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 116) and *Linguistic Capital* which is linguistic competence (Johnson, 2009, p. 7). Moreover, *Cultural Capital* includes cultural knowledge and cultural competence, which enables an appreciation of cultural artefacts and an ability to decode cultural meaning, as taught by family, education and other institutions (Johnson, 2009, p. 7-8). For Bourdieu, cultural capital can include material things as well as prestige, status, authority and culturally valued taste. Thus, for Bourdieu, institutions not only support the dominant ideologies such as those of the state and the powerful, but they can also enable and award various levels of capital to particular groups in society (Johnson, 2009, p. 7-8). The distribution of

capital thus varies between different social groups, and can create and reinforce hierarchies (Bourdieu, 2010, pp. 108-113).

Different forms of capital can often be overlapping and subsequently sometimes difficult to distinguish. Moreover, Bourdieu argued that all forms of capital are convertible, but only under some circumstances. For example, through the family and school, educationally successful middle class children convert their cultural capital into economic capital when they enter the job market (Bennett, 2010, p. xx). Once acquired, both economic capital and cultural capital can be passed down from one generation to another (Bennet, 2010, p. xvii).

Progressing the ideas of Althusser, Bourdieu argued that the education system not only teaches the official set curriculum, but also incidentally teaches ideology, and this is done through teaching the values of class, hierarchy and taste. According to Jameson (2009, p. 23), Bourdieu's work demonstrated how education systems 'reinforce, rather than diminish, social differences'. This is because it transmits the culture of the dominant classes as if it were natural. Bourdieu, like Althusser, thus claimed that ideological knowledge is acquired at school and at home, and for those who are taught it, such knowledge becomes capital.

Cultural fields are the site of habitus and capital, but they are also the sites of symbolic violence and misrecognition (Webb et al, 2002, p. 24). Social agents are unconsciously aware of the capital they are likely to attain in terms of the 'practical' limitations imposed upon them by their place in the field, their educational background, social connections and class position. Moreover, 'those

with the least amount of capital tend to be less ambitious, and more ‘satisfied’ with their lot’ (Webb et al., 2002, p. 23). Like money or status, symbolic capital legitimizes differences in social class and social importance. However, this is a misrecognition because it is not seen as a form of capital but rather as someone’s natural or inherent quality.

Much of Bourdieu’s work on art, literature and culture – in particular *Distinction* – has been concerned precisely with the ways in which culture contributes to domination and legitimizing hierarchy as natural (Johnson, 2009, p. 24). Bourdieu therefore argued that social identity is defined through difference (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 166-167). Symbols, logic and practices unify but also separate specific groups of people (Bennet, 2010, p. xix). Due to ‘distinction’ and an understanding by social agents of which culture they belong to, ‘symbolic violence’ can be exercised upon the social agent due to their complicity and their acceptance to be treated as inferior, denied resources, limited in social mobility and lacking in aspirations. Such agents perceive their situation to be the natural order of things, for example, patriarchy (Webb et al., 2002, p. 25). Bourdieu (2010, p. 168) thus believed that the social world is a cognition, which is actually a misrecognition.

The Feel for ‘The Game’

To demonstrate how each of his concepts work, Bourdieu referred to the novel *Sentimental Education* (1869) by Gustave Flaubert. Bourdieu (2009b, p. 150) commented on how the interactions, relationships, competition, conflict, coincidences and fortunateness within in the novel, mirrors how life shapes and

unfolds an individual's life history within real life. The novel symbolically condenses Frederic's whole life story, as he meanders through his possibilities, some he chooses and some he discards.

Bourdieu (2009b, p. 158) claimed this to be a reflection of 'the game' that is played within society. He claimed that reality is presented as something that is taken for granted and remains unquestioned until subjected to an interrogative and critical reading. Thus, Bourdieu (Johnson, 2009, p. 17-18) uses *Sentimental Education* to illustrate how the habitus can influence the game and provide the possibilities and trajectories for actors to preserve or lose the capital they accumulate. Strategies are made possible by the habitus and strategies are not based on conscious thought but rather they depend on the position of the agent in the field, the confrontation that takes place, and their search for solution (Johnson, 2009, p. 17-18). Thus, for Bourdieu:

“in this game, the trump cards are the habitus, ... These trump cards determine not only the style of play, but also the success or failure in the game of the young people concerned, in short, the whole process ... the game, ... takes place in the field of power, power itself is obviously the stake which has to be held or seized.
(Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 150)

On the one hand, Bourdieu (2009b, p. 151) used the analogy of living on an island or in an isolated country manor to demonstrate how individuals in a society, or characters in a novel, live a somewhat insular existence. However, the chance opportunity always exists for them to meet strangers, whereby new doors, avenues and networks are opened for them, governed by the cultural capital that is available to them.

On the other hand, referring to a male character in the book, Bourdieu argued that ‘his life story is nothing but the fulfilment of things already implied by his essence’ (2009b, p. 151). Thus, although the character does not utilise his symbolic capital, in other words, his education in a useful way, he can draw upon his symbolic capital of a high-class status. Therefore, ‘the future, already implied by his past’ is a consequence of the capital resources he already has (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 151).

Agents are thus confronted and guided through trajectories, chance happenings, indecisions, indifference and possibilities by their capital. However, because of the field, *the space of possibles*, and the habitus, a person’s destiny is to a certain extent already almost mapped out for them (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 151). Agents thus follow realistic strategies and exploit the possibilities, yet are restrained by structure, which they fight against through agency.

The analytical concepts of economic, symbolic and cultural capital will thus be used within this thesis to demonstrate how, due to the return of British citizenship in the *space of possibles*, St Helenians have the capacity to draw upon their available resources within the habitus and strive towards purchasing more capital. However, using the concepts of the habitus, symbolic violence, misrecognition and difference, this thesis will investigate some of the stories of the islanders, for an understanding of how they have arrived at their current destiny.

Bourdieu’s work has been described as a dissection of ‘the relationship between systems of thought, social institutions and different forms of material and symbolic power’ (Johnson, 2009, p. 1). For Bourdieu, agents are not mere subjects

who automatically follow the rules and their actions are not ‘obedience’. Like Foucault, Bourdieu perceived power to be dispersed, hidden and unquestioned (Johnson, 2009, p. 2), yet in contrast to Foucault, Bourdieu understood power as not reduced to economics and politics, but instead intertwined with economic, political, social and cultural power (Johnson, 2009, p. 2). Bourdieu’s analytical concepts thus award a nuanced understanding of continuity and discontinuity, movement and agency, shifts and ruptures, movement and emotion, within this island community.

Similar to Althusser, for Bourdieu, authorization is a matter of being interpellated by forms of social power, not necessarily through state apparatus, but often through a non-official discourse (Butler, 1999, p. 120). Thus, those who have the power, have the authority to speak in ‘powerful’ ways (Butler, 1999, p. 122). However, Bourdieu’s work has been criticised for assuming that the habitus and the field, fix power. Butler (1999, p. 121) claimed Bourdieu failed to explain the way that social positions are constructed through implicit performativity. In other words, agents can achieve power through symbolic acts, even when power has not been awarded to them and even when they do not recognise for themselves that they hold power. Moreover, Margolis (1999, p. 68) highlights the difficulties within Bourdieu’s work because although it provides a useful framework for social life, his work lacks an acknowledgement of cognition and how agents remember, perceive and learn (Margolis (1999 p. 80).

To add further nuance to this cultural study of islandness, and for a consideration of implicit performativity as well as purchase into how agents remember, perceive and learn, I will now move on to the analytical tools of Plummer

and Bakhtin. These two theorists also include a consideration of power within their theories. However, they offer an understanding of how structures are talked about in speech, and therefore agents achieve strength at the psychological and community level, through collective interaction. It is their sense of a collective community, which awards them strength, power and a desire for a collective future. Survival thus continues due to national traditions, memories and a collective community consciousness. This chapter will now turn to Plummer and Bakhtin to introduce their analytical tools. These will award this thesis with a cultural understanding of the role of collective identities and collective histories, which in turn supports collective resistance, continuity and intactness.

Plummer, Agency, Memory & Speech Communities

Plummer (1983, p. 3) referred to Althusser (1969) to demonstrate how previous sociology had rejected the presence of the human subject, placing the emphasis on structure over human agency. Like Thompson (1979), Plummer found this theoretical closure absurd (1983, p. 4). For Plummer, stories demonstrate agency. Plummer claimed that the dominant groups ensure their stories get heard and the repressed re-identify themselves through stories. Plummer gave the example that ‘traditional family values’, supported by nostalgic memories, have functioned as mythical stories that advocate the importance of the nuclear family (Plummer, 1995, p. 152).

Plummer did note that not all situations or moments in history allow people a voice and gave the example that rape once had no audience (1995, p. 22).

Moreover, 'coming out' stories within the gay community have demonstrated that 'there is no automatic 'safe place' in the world for stories' (Plummer, 1995, p. 79). Subsequently, many stories will remain dormant until collective action has the strength to ensure they are heard within a society. Moreover, society has to be ready to accept them (Plummer, 1995, p. 35).

Plummer (1995, p. 40) argued that stories help create a sense of the past through 'history, memory and nostalgia', which in turn helps create the stability of the present. He argued that memories provides 'our best stories' as they are told repeatedly, thus illustrating what is deemed worthy of a story, who are included, the emotions that accompany the story and the community that it is embedded within. For Plummer, the importance of a sociology of stories as a research tool is not for a means for obtaining 'truth-claims', but rather stories provide a 'form of truth' which allows an insight into how the respondents perceive and interpret their own individual history. This would be according to their values, emotions and meaning making processes.

For an analysis of stories, Plummer asks what are the current forms that stories take; how are they organised; what is the structural form i.e. romance, tragedy, comedy; what is the use of metaphor; how are they embedded within the processes of power, hierarchy, domination and resources. Moreover, stories should be understood as a form of social interaction between the storyteller and the listener. 'Coaxers, coaches and coercers' temporarily hold the power to listen, question and extract information from the storyteller(s). Sometimes, storytellers feel at ease with their 'coaxer', researcher or 'expert' and sometimes they do not. Thus the

storytelling process can encourage people to tell their stories, but additionally, it may not (Plummer, 1995, p. 21).

Other researchers have used the Sociology of Stories analytical approach. Franklin's (1997) research consisted of 'stories of discovery, revelation and triumph' (1997, p. 12). Her empirical research and cultural analysis that called for a 'retooling of the ethnographic method' (1997, p. i) included interviews with men and women on their experiences of assisted conception. Through their 'narrative dilemmas', participants informed her of their practices, actions and emotions that helped them transgress from the start of their story to the end (1997, p. 13).

Franklin (1997) made the point that unlike traditional ethnography or traditional anthropological studies, she did not research a specific geographical community who all live within close proximity of each other. Instead, Franklin researched a speech community that, as individuals, could come from diverse cultures and societies, yet are bounded by a common experience or a 'way of life' (1997, p. 102). Franklin thus stated how the couples undergoing assisted conception within her research have never met each other. Nonetheless, they have formed a specific type of community who have identical experiences, have drawn upon the same metaphors and analogies, and have demonstrated the way 'IVF is lived and embodied ... described and narrated' (1997, p. 101).

Plummer (1995, p. P. 18) claimed that for anthropology, stories are the vehicles to understanding culture. For psychology they are means for the understanding of identity. For history they provide a sense of the past, and in

psychoanalysis they provide truth narratives for analysis. However, for Plummer they are the tool for understanding ‘symbolic interactions and political processes’:

“We human beings are social world-makers, though we do not make our social worlds in conditions of our own choosing. Through symbols and languages, we are able to reflect upon ourselves and others, and we cannot help but acting in, on and through the world. We work and worry, pray and play, love and hate; and all the time we are telling stories about our pasts, our presents and our futures. We are constantly doing things together – no person is an island: even when alone, there is an awareness of others”
(Plummer, 1995, p. 20)

Plummer thus argued that in a world that is forever changing and never fixed, ‘we are always becoming, never arriving’ (1995, p. 20). Plummer stated how stories are not necessarily individual, but instead they form communities of collective experiences or ‘communities of memory’ (Plummer, 1995, p. 22). Thus communities become speech communities.

Within this thesis the analytical tools of Plummer will be drawn upon to question what the dominant stories, or public narratives, on the island are. This in turn will demonstrate the collective values, memories and emotions of the islanders. The analytical tools of Plummer will also be used to investigate the forms of the public narratives, in other words, whether they are constructed within romance, tragedy or comedy. Moreover, the metaphors and analogies that the islanders use within their repertoires will be examined for an understanding of the idiosyncratic language that the community use to describe themselves.

Bakhtin’s analytical tools will complement the work of Plummer and

contribute a final analytical approach that will add further nuance to this triangulated analytical framework. Bakhtin argued how through language, history and memory are integral to community and identity formation. Bakhtin demonstrated how voices from across time and space, blend together to become one voice. Moreover, due to the multiple voices, opinions, reflections, reactions and ideologies that are blended together in one community, communities are able to remain intact; simultaneously and subtly transgressing forward and into the future.

Bakhtin, Monologism, Polyphony & Heteroglossia

Due to Bakhtin's period in exile, suspicions have arisen regarding whether Bakhtin wrote under various identities. Some argue that Bakhtin wrote under the names of Bakhtin, Voloshinov and Medvedev, whereas others believe they are three distinct people (Dentith, 1995, p. 9). Within this chapter, I will refer to all three of these members of the Bakhtinian Circle, and discuss their analytical concepts that I will be using for my data analysis.

Monologism is one of the concepts used by Voloshinov. He argued that when a language is stripped of its history and context, it is monologic (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 121). Moreover, monologism is an authoritative form of language use whereby those who have accumulated it have taken ownership of it, possessed it and formalised it so it is now 'voiceless' (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 121). Bakhtin argued that the language of England provides a good example of a monoglot language, due to the dominant and powerful groups who insist on using the English language in an appropriate manner.

Bakhtin also uses the term polyphony, to illustrate how many languages or 'voices', have the space to be heard at the same time. However, this does not necessarily mean that all voices have equal respect, but instead come together requiring a 'cultural negotiation' (Dentith, 1995, p. 102). Bakhtin's work on Rabelais and Carnival provided an example of polyphony, because various and opposing languages have come together in a unified manner. Bakhtin was a celebrator of carnival as he saw this as an opportunity to overthrow monologic and authoritarian attitudes, and subvert the dominant and the official hierarchies for a period of time, allowing all voices to be heard (Dentith, 1995, p. ix). Carnival provides the 'rupture between real life and symbolic ritual' (Bakhtin, 2006c, p. 154). However, even carnivals have been accused of enabling the most authoritative voice to dominate (Dentith, 1995, p. 75) and a 'discursive hierarchy' continues to exist (Dentith, 1995, p. 43).

Bakhtin however, emphasised how most language is not monoglot or polyphonic, but instead is heteroglossic, whereby multiple voices simultaneously come together in the voice of a single agent. The presence of history within language is thus essential in Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia because multiple and often opposing forms of knowledge, conflict and contradiction can all come together through the vehicle of language. Words are heard and learnt through interaction with others, processed and remembered across time and space (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 140). Language therefore becomes a gentle blend, although this is not necessarily explicit or recognised by the person doing the speaking (Dentith, 1995, p. 101).

For Bakhtin, dialogue is not a new phenomenon but instead ‘it is always already in that world’, bouncing between agents, between societies, between its predecessors and successors (Dentith, 1995, p. 95). Subsequently, language is a process that is dynamic, value-laden and evaluative (Dentith, 1995, 30). It is therefore dialogic and consists of an ‘interrelationship between socially and historically grounded languages’ (Dentith, 1995, p. 92). Linguistic interaction is thus the process by which ‘conflicts and contradictoriness’ come together in a nuanced manner and are smoothed out (Dentith, 1995, p. 27).

Speech Genres & the Community Consciousness

For Bakhtin, spoken language, or to use Bakhtin’s terms an utterance, is formed within a pre-existing speech genre, which provides the structure or the ‘external template’ within which language is performed (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 5). Genres can be used as a form of empowerment. For example, the more cultured and/or knowledgeable an agent, the more speech genres an agent has to draw upon to form their interaction (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 129). Subsequently, the more a person is emerged within their community the more they can push the boundaries of their audience, although this is limited by structures such as class (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 129). From this perspective, Bakhtin awards agency to individual agents, but only if the person is culturally and socially successful, and can draw upon a repertoire of speech genres that they can then manipulate (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 80).

Although Bakhtin placed importance on the dialogic i.e. the continuous use of language, he did not completely dismiss the dialectic i.e the material and

economic superstructure (Holquist (2006, p. xi). However, whereas Marx argued that the proletariat merely need to awaken from their false class consciousness to overcome the oppressive forces of capitalism and class, Bakhtin argued that a final resolution between the classes could never take place because ‘nothing is absolutely dead’ (Holquist, 2006, p. xxi). In other words, class conflict or the dialectic can never be resolved because historical processes and actions will always remain within the memory, belief systems and the zeitgeist of agents. Thus they will remain in the present as well as exist within the future.

Bakhtin thus placed the position of language and utterance beyond the structure and agency debates, and into the realm of the psyche and consciousness (Dentith, 1995, p. 19). For Bakhtin, it is the unconscious use of language, formed by the consciousness of an agent, which forms the understanding of the self and the community they belong to. This is an on-going process, emerged within history and generation. Thus, Bakhtin’s theories have been described as falling between Marxism and phenomenology (Bernard-Donals, 1994).

Bakhtin thus highlighted how some view collective language as a form of collective personality or a collective sense of nation. He referred to this as the ‘spirit of the people’ (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 68) and claimed ‘just as the body is formed initially in a mother’s womb, a person’s consciousness awakens wrapped in another’s consciousness’ (Bakhtin, 2006c, p. 138). Bakhtin thus argued that speech genres reveal a national language, yet are uniquely spoken by each individual (2006b, p. 63). Language therefore works within communities and is tossed like a ball across generations (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 125). However, the fluid nature of

language means language is never passed on in a complete ready-made format, but rather is an on-going process. It is added to and altered by all those who consciously use it (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 125).

Bakhtin argued how by having a consciousness of one's own language and culture, agents can have a consciousness of others' language and culture. This understanding of the foreign can then assist with the overcoming of the closedness within one's own culture, and raise questions through dialogue, dialogics and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 7). Voloshinov (1995, p. 118) thus claimed that the alien or foreign person has played an enormous role within history. After all, it was 'foreign-language word that brought civilization, culture, religion, and political organization' (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 118).

What Voloshinov considered to be essential within the dialogic is the ideological context of utterance, which forms the consciousness that drives language. For Voloshinov, ideology flows inwards into a person, and their interpretation and understanding of that ideology is what forms the outward flow of expression (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 128). Voloshinov distinguished ideology as understood by the Bakhtinian School from ideology as understood by Althusser. Voloshinov claimed the ideology he was referring to does not include authoritative systems and because of this, Voloshinov preferred the term behavioural ideology, which includes all life experiences as well as consciousness. He claimed this is what Marx understood as social psychology.

For Voloshinov, it is ideological consciousness within the individual that provides the stimulus for change. Over time, new speech genres form, either enabling conflict and contradiction to live harmoniously alongside each other, or for enabling change. Thus for Bakhtin, heteroglossia and dialogics is something to be celebrated (Dentith, 1995, p. 38). For new ideological viewpoints to be accepted, they require a merger with existing ideological viewpoints for a starting point or platform. Then, the newly created behavioural ideologies will be tested and evaluated by those who accept them as well as by those who resist them (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 137). Culture is thus an '*open* unity' (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 6) as it provides the flexibility for change, but only in a dialogic sense where old and new ideologies merge, struggle and oppose each other, cemented through language.

The triangulated approach drawn upon within this thesis, thus obtains further nuance due to the analytical frameworks of Plummer and Bakhtin. They both offer the ability to understand how narratives, stories and language are the tools which communities use to reflect, evaluate and move forward. Stories are thus the active imagination of a community. They are used to justify, reposition and persuade. Moreover, stories are the vehicles which demonstrate collectivity, which in turn generates power, strength and intactness.

Similar to the analytical concepts of Althusser, Bakhtin's analytical concepts demonstrate how the ideology of a community is what forms the psyche and community consciousness. However, in contrast to the analytical concepts of Althusser, the Bakhtinian School awards this thesis the apt analytical concepts for an explicit understanding of how history is an essential vehicle for forming the

community consciousness. Therefore, the analytical concepts of Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin together remedy the pitfalls of Althusser's framework.

Conclusion

The empirical research for this thesis consists of in-depth narrative data, collected from St Helenian stories both on-island and off-island. The stories alongside my interaction with the St Helenian community both on and off the island, has enabled me to investigate the islanders' cultural habits, practices, and lifestyles. This has also enabled me to investigate the symbolic practices and meanings the islanders apply to the island, at this most recent time of shifts and rupture. Subsequently, my research on the St Helenian community is embedded within the ethnographic and anthropological tradition, which is concerned with depth and richness.

Within my research however, I have attempted to synthesise the traditionally rich empirical methods associated with ethnography, and the theoretically rich analytical concepts traditionally associated with cultural studies. I have attempted to bridge the gap between speculative theory and descriptive empiricism (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For example, Back (2007, p. 16) noted his concern of in-depth ethnographic research that is merely 'intrusive empiricism', whereby claims and judgements are made about a specific community. He was also concerned with 'abstracted empiricism', which provides an uninformed or uncritical insight into a particular community (Back, 2007, p. 16). Moreover, Back is sceptical of research that is 'thin on empirical detail', where data has been replaced by theoretical elaboration (Back, 2007, p. 16).

My research therefore, not only draws upon the classical uses of ethnography as a methodology for thick description of a community, but it also moves towards a more cultural analytical framework that focuses on an analysis of cultural repertoires for a cultural account of island life. Using symbolic interactionism as the theoretical tool to drive the investigation of the data, I seek to ethnographically understand the symbolic meanings, practices and rituals that demonstrate the St Helenian community, as inflected in their language. I do so alongside a cultural investigation of ‘individual agency, identity, opposition and alternativeness, and resistance’ (Schwoch and White, 2006, p. 2). Individuals apply more agency, opposition and resistance to their everyday lives than what more traditional disciplines have given them credit for (Schwoch and White, 2006):

“The ‘linguistic turn’ in social and cultural studies has encouraged a convergence between sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists and linguistics in paying close attention to the organisation of discursive actions”

(Atkinson & Delamont, 2007, p. xx)

For a symbolic interactionist investigation of the St Helenian stories, within the following theory chapters, I will interrogate the St Helenian stories by an analysis that is directed by the analytical concepts of Althusser (chapter 4), Bourdieu (chapter 5), Plummer and Bakhtin (chapter 6). Moreover, when the analytical concepts are blended together within the concluding chapter (chapter 7) they will form the triangulated constellation of analytical approaches required for a close examination of what constitutes St Helenianness, Britishness and Islandness. In their original context the approaches are irreconcilable. However, notwithstanding their contradictions, but rather because of them, this selective juxtaposition of divergent

concepts allows me purchase to a textured and rich account of the contradictory processes of identity and community, St Helenianness, Britishness and Islandness.

This thesis will thus investigate how this fluid and ruptured community, in a psychological and material sense due to migration, remains intact as a distinct St Helenian community, with and without the restrictions of geography. I will thus investigate the narrative and discursive repertoires of the islanders to obtain their collective meanings behind islandness, Britishness and St Helenianness. Moreover, I aim to investigate the degree that a St Helenian identity is maintained or transformed when overseas and the identity practices that are invoked in this context.

Blending the theories of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin, I will investigate how state structures, psychological structures and structures of feelings, alongside movement, agency and collective identity, have formed the St Helenian psyche and community consciousness. These issues will then be merged with the wider issues of migration, identity, Diaspora, transnationalism and citizenship, to provide a complex and nuanced understanding of this St Helenian island community, which has become a ‘survival’ and continued throughout generations of shifts and ruptures.

CHAPTER 4: Ideological Islandness: The Apparatus of Island Identity

Introduction

This chapter will use the stories from the St Helenians, both on and off the island, for an understanding of the limitations and structures imposed upon them. As illustrated in chapter 3, the Althusserian notion of ideology and ideological state apparatus provides the apt analytical constructs, to make sense of the material structures and the psychological structures embedded within the St Helenian community. Within this chapter I will thus use the theories of Althusser, not in an orthodox way but in a heuristic, neo-Althusserian way. I will apply Althusser's analytical concepts of Institutional State Apparatus and Interpellation, Overdetermination and Contradiction as well as the Endless Chain, to the lived experiences of the islanders. I will also apply the analytical ideas of an abstract, empty canvas to the islander's official national identity, although this will be re-visited and further explored in chapter 6 when blended with the analytical constructs of Bakhtin. This chapter is thus the first of three data analysis chapters, which will contribute to a triangulated and cultural understanding of this island community.

The argument of this chapter has several parts. Firstly I will address the fact that the St Helenian economy and surrounding political structures are constituted almost entirely as a state structured, public economy, which is a creation and offshoot of the British state. The island as a public economy however, has been disguised under the British State's rhetorical term of 'aid'. Secondly, I will address the material and ideological structures that underpins the St Helenian national

identity, as a consequence of a British national identity. However, within this chapter I will also discuss how, within living memory, the British State diminished the St Helenian British national identity, yet has since restored it. I will therefore investigate the St Helenian stories for an understanding of what an imposed yet fluctuating British identity means to the islanders. Before I explicitly move on to an Althusserian analysis, I will first of all demonstrate some of the structures and frustrations on the island using the St Helenian narratives as testimony.

A Public Economy

The Island of St Helena has no substantial economy of its own and the island relies heavily upon British financial ‘aid’. Subsequently, the island’s economic infrastructure is administered as a public service. For example, between 1998 and 2001, the St Helena Government received £26 million from the British State, (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1999) and the majority of the islanders work for the St Helenian Government. Subsequently, except for a handful of privileged families on the island, the St Helenian community remains economically dependent upon its links with Britain. As it stands, the island could not survive without the British Grant-in-aid from DfID (Department for International Development) and Cohen (1983b) referred to this system as ‘welfare colonialism in practice’.

The St Helenians within this research clearly demonstrated a variety of attitudes and opinions about, for example, belonging to Britain and seeking independence. Their narratives thus reflected a range of takes and perspectives on the economic situation of the island. Nonetheless, embedded within the narratives

are clear discourses of dependency. Embodied within their narratives are the assimilation, reflection and reproduction of the economic and British ideological structures:

Jane, 41, on-island the link with Britain gives us our link internationally, uum, and in things like education, uum, employment, uum, and support, and we definitely need the Grant-in-aid, and you know, we cannot exist without Grant-in-aid from DfID

Frank, 65, on-island we got nothing here to send away, like before days we used to have fibre and all stuff going, and rope, you know, but all that has died out now eh. Cause we don't have nothing, we just depend on Britain for aid

Derek, 63, on-island well you need to be loyal to your country eh, and ... England has provided St Helena with a lot of things you see, even now as I say, with our medical stuff and all our money that we have, we ain't got that by ourselves, we can't provide ourselves, we have to ask Britain to do it

As discussed by Plummer (1995, p. 20) the telling of stories is a reflexive process. Within the interviews, Zoe reflected on the St Helenian situation. She surmised on her own accord, that if the UK provides a Grant-in-aid to the St Helenian Government, and in-turn the St Helenian Government provides employment, then the islanders are not actually receiving a wage but instead they are receiving a benefit:

Zoe, 27, on-island I guess we are living off welfare ..., cause even though we say we are working for St Helena Government, St Helena Government don't have its own money, its monies coming from the UK Government, so in some ways yeah, we are working in all these jobs and job titles and everything else, but...

Zoe ended her sentence above with the word 'but', illustrating not only her personal reflection, but also how the St Helenian community do not usually

make sense of their situation in this way because it is too sensitive. Indeed, her tone illustrated that it was a controversial statement and an issue she was not prepared to explore. This was confirmed by her joking threat to me, the researcher, that she will ‘go home and tell my Mum we are all living off welfare’. Plummer (1995, p. 35) noted that sometimes the important stories are those that are unsaid. Here Zoe is demonstrating that St Helena as an island on welfare is not a dominant narrative for the islanders, even if this has been recognised within the community. The subject is too sensitive and controversial.

Barriers, Remoteness and Frustration

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, although St Helena was once an economically flourishing island due to a regular income from the abundance of sailors visiting the island, St Helena now has nothing to offer a competitive global economy. Some islanders own small businesses that consist of imported goods for sale, and some are self-employed electricians, plumbers or mechanics, for example. A handful of islanders sell home grown coffee or honey, and a very small amount is exported overseas. However, in general, consumerism is limited on the Island, and business, entrepreneurialism and tourism does not provide enough for a self-sufficient economy. Most clothes, furniture and utilities have to be purchased overseas via catalogues, or are shipped home whilst the islanders themselves, or friends and family, are overseas.

Although some islanders grow their own fruit and vegetables, and meats and fish are available on the island for local consumption, most foods are also

imported via the RMS (Royal Mail Ship) and on occasion the island runs out of certain foods. During my visit to the island, the last opportunity to buy fresh fruit and vegetables for Christmas was early-December. Carol described how most of the foods are imported from South Africa, although one of the shops has an account with the British company Tesco.

Because of the costs, time and effort of transporting foods and goods to the island, islanders have no choice in their consumption and purchasing habits, often having to accept what few goods are available in the shops, at very high prices. The prices are high due to shipping costs, but also many islanders complained about the import duties that the St Helenian Government add onto imported foods. As Carol stated, ‘we got no choice, so you just get used to it’ and Marcus argued it is a ‘problem for us here’. Sally, currently residing in the UK, described a phone call she had with her niece on island. She noted how it is not just food that is expensive, but communications too, because the one company that provides the telecommunication has a monopoly over the costs. She referred to the situation as exploitative:

Sally, 42, off-island Cable and Wireless as well, you know, they know that's the only link to St Helena for telephones and everything, so they charge a fortune, its uum, my niece has got broadband, ... it's a hundred and twenty [pounds per month], and that's where you can, have more scope with Skype, but uum, its ridiculous isn't it, it is exploited, the food is exploited ... I was talking to my niece on Sunday, she ring me up it was my birthday, and she said the food is just getting way expensive, she said can you tell me what it is now for the Tescos tomatoes, tin of tomatoes right, she said not the Value cause I don't buy Value but she said the green one, and I use the green one you know, the normal one, I said oh its 41 pence, she said its 79 pence here, for Tescos own version of Frosties its £3.99, its what 99 pence in the shop [in UK] isn't it

Jane explained how outside investors have considered setting up businesses on the island, but the time factor of shipping the goods and overseeing any work on the island prevents any business plan becoming a financially viable option. Moreover, one self-employed St Helenian businessman described the frustration in replacing a broken piece of equipment for his shop due to the time and cost, which is detrimental to his business. He described how life is more awkward and difficult on the island than it is in the UK due to lack of instant access, shipping costs and the risks involved with shipping fragile goods:

Philip, 36, on-island I mean earlier in the year we had some equipment go down and trying to get that replaced was very difficult because it was such a sensitive piece of equipment that you couldn't just chuck it in the mail, I know this is frustrating cause if I was in the UK I would know exactly where to go, I know how to deal with it, and that sort of thing, uum, something else just recently, I have tried to get in, uum, that I had a few problems with, and then you feel a bit isolated, its just awkward you know, it's more difficult,

One major limitation for the island is its lack of an airport. Subsequently, all transportation has to be done by ship. Plans to build an airport have been on-going intermittently since the 1940s, although some islanders stated how they would prefer improved shipping facilities via a suitable breakwater. The British Government have at various times promised either an airport or a new breakwater, but neither have materialised. Even when the plans for the airport were going ahead, islanders were disillusioned:

Faith, 37, on-island waiting for it since 1947, people are easily disillusioned, very easily disillusioned, [St Helenians say] forget the airport, we're not even going to get it, ... we're never ever going to get, ... it can get very very frustrating

With a suitable breakwater, tourism could potentially become a reliable source of income. For example, during the 1990s the island were looking forward to the passengers on the QE2 coming ashore, and the shops and hotels spent time and money preparing for the influx of tourists. However, due to dangerous weather conditions on the day, the passengers were not allowed to disembark and all efforts were wasted. Similarly, whilst on the island I visited two small open markets that the islanders had set up ready for a tourist ship due in. Stalls had been set up to sell locally produced Tungi (a liquor made from prickly pear), lace, seed work, honey, cakes, local recipe books and imported gifts such as tea towels and oven gloves with pictures of St Helena on them. On the one occasion the islanders' efforts were successful. However, on the other occasion the efforts had been in vain due to adverse weather conditions and the tourists choosing to stay on the ship.

Without an airport or improved shipping services, the island has limited hope of ever being financially self-sufficient and subsequently remains financially dependent upon the UK. Efforts to establish businesses on the island remain under considerable strain. The airport is commonly spoken about within the interviews and will arise on numerous occasions throughout this thesis. This is particularly because when I visited the island plans for an airport were still going ahead. However, a year later the airport was on hold once more due to the decisions of the British Government who were confronting a global recession. Irene summarised the transport situation for the island. Within her narrative she does not refer to getting on and off the island, but rather in or out:

Irene, 72, off-island because as you know, we have only got this one ship, and anything happen to that ship and we are stuck, we just can't get out, in, or anything.

Limited business opportunities are not the only barrier that the lack of an airport creates. St Helenians are sent on the RMS, to South Africa or the UK, on medical evacuation or 'medivac' for major operations or treatment. Angela referred to the lack of medical care on St Helena as their 'main structure' and many St Helenians noted their fear of not being able to get off the island in times of medical emergency. For example, Pauline described how her father may still be alive if the RMS had been in dock at St Helena when he became seriously ill. Moreover, Emma spoke about how she had not realised how limited her access to opportunities were until her Mum became seriously ill. Within her narrative Emma provided the testimony of the island's isolation in times of urgency. Moreover, within her personal repertoire she uses the phrase 'them and us' which illustrates her feelings of detachment to the outside world:

Emma, 30, on-island I never used to, I must admit I didn't, I never used to feel that we were this remote rock in the middle of the Atlantic, I didn't, and then ..., early part of this year, and my mum got sick ..., the ship took 2 weeks to get to the UK, 2 weeks to get back down, one week to get to Ascension, and then another week to get to Cape Town so that's six weeks in total before she could get the operation she needed, and it was like, it was a shock. So prior to that incident it was like no I don't feel isolated, I feel like that's them and this is us. But like after that shock its like Jesus, its like we need an airport and we need it now. And I was at that point I was so angry, I was angry at the Government for not providing an escape, and like it occurred to me that it's not just my mum, there's people who have died from the wait. So we are isolated, there's no doubt about it, I mean individual feelings are different but I think until people are presented with the shock factor, they don't realize it

What this chapter has illustrated so far is some of the limitations and frustrations that confront the islanders, particularly regarding the limited access to overseas, which in turn provides limited access to economic opportunities, medical resources and competitively priced goods. Moreover, this chapter has recalled how the islanders are dependent upon British financial aid and a state structured, public economy.

To an outsider the links between St Helena and Britain may appear superficial, based upon a colonial and/or post-colonial agreement that could easily be severed. What this chapter will now turn to is an understanding of *why* the structures that link the island to their motherland, have either become ‘naturalised’, or at least acknowledged as a structure that the community themselves have no control over. This exploration will be done through an understanding of how the islanders’ official national identity and financial dependence have become embedded within the ideology of the island, and the ideological link between the island and its motherland. This chapter will now turn to the analytical framework of Althusser and the concepts of Institutional State Apparatus, Interpellation, Overdetermination and Contradiction as well as the Endless Chain. Using the stories and narratives, I begin my heuristic and neo-Althussarian analysis, which draws upon the islander’s lived experiences.

Institutional State Apparatus: A Taught Sense of Belonging

Even though the Mother Country is 4,500 miles away, the St Helenians have a clear sense of belonging to the UK, as well as, to varying degrees, a British sense of

identity. Using an Althusserian analysis, I would like to suggest that the island's history as part of the British Empire and the island's current status as a British Overseas Territory, have all contributed to the ideology of the island and the islanders being 'hailed' and 'interpellated' as British citizens. Adam illustrated this as he drew upon the island's history to justify the islander's national identity. He also noted how the British institutions of education, the health service and the British monarchy have all contributed to the interpellation of the islanders' sense of Britishness. Moreover, he noted his interpellation as a non-first class, yet British citizen:

Adam, 52, on-island We been British ever since the island been discovered, right, 82 years after the island was discovered, travellers came here eh, and from then on the British colonized it. You know, the Dutch did take it for a month, for a few days, or maybe a few weeks, but not for very long. But ever since the island have always feelled British, not English but British, you know what I mean, part of the empire as it was, and we have never been neglected, I don't think so. Our education was free, our medical is free, we probably don't get the best, the first class, but its free, you know, maybe that's why the wages is lower, but uh, because of Napoleon being exiled here and we had the Duke of Wellington here, Edmund Helliot and some famous people , Captain Blithe from the bounty, so we had some famous people here, even her Majesty been here, 1947, she was Princess then, her and her sister Margaret. In 84 we had Prince Andrew, and in 82 we had uh 2002 we had Princess Anne

As mentioned in the Prelude to this thesis, the St Helenians have officially been British citizens since 1834 when the island became a Crown Colony. However, Althusser argued that society is an empty abstract canvas (2001c, p. 164), whereby history on its own does not contribute to the formation of the current society (2001a, p. 33). Instead, it is the political superstructures that overdetermine national identity through ideology (1971, p. 100-101). Therefore, it is not history that provides the necessary means by which individuals and communities understand themselves, but

rather it is the contemporary ideological underpinnings. Thus, the prominent Institutional State Apparatuses of the time, informs social agents about how they should understand themselves and the social world they are embedded within. History is merely a justification of this.

Within chapter two, the literature of Rajasingham-Seanayake (2002) and Li Puma (1997) captured and demonstrated the structures of national politics and an imposed sense of nationhood. For example, Rajasingham-Seanayake's (2002) research examined how the Sri Lankan Government's official narratives have disguised and denied any presence of hybridity on the island and instead claimed distinction. Thus, the Sri Lankan islanders have become interpellated into a particular ethnic or race-based group. Similarly, Li Puma demonstrated how a state can re-create history for the sake of creating a sense of unity within a previously heterogeneous population. Li Puma argued that schools and museums had been used as the apparatus that installed a singular and unified understanding of history.

The Institutional State Apparatuses of education and the family on the island of St Helena have also used the history of the island as the vehicle to justify the existing ideologies on the island. Both the ISAs of the family and education have thus been instrumental in teaching the official British national identity. As Janet stated, 'as a child I was always taught that I was British, so I have always grown up believing I am British'. Ruby described how at school on St Helena she was taught about the British iron and steel industry. Similarly, Elsa below explained how her education taught her more about Britain than it did about St Helena. Her education

on the island taught her to be passionately interested in England; the mother country she actually migrated to and lived in for over fifty years:

Elsa, 76, on-island I think mostly because of my education I had, I had learned so much about England, in actual fact I knew more about England than I knew about my own little island, and I knew more about England than a lot of English people did, because of what I learnt in school. All our geography, a lot of our geography was England, and of course I, that's another of my things, I love geography, so I know all about the world, I mean when people are talking about the world sometimes, they only know names, they don't know where places are. Even in England I've spoken to people and they didn't know whether uh, Guildford was down south or right up north, little things like that, uum, whereas I can draw the map, I could when I was a girl here [on St Helena], draw the map of England, I could put in all the main towns, I could name all the counties, I knew the chief towns in the county, the rivers, I knew so much about England

Additionally, many of the St Helenian teachers themselves are actually trained in the UK because the curriculum is the British curriculum. One retired teacher spoke in her interview about how she was 'sent back and forth to England on courses' and throughout her career has assisted with the establishment of various British courses such as GCSEs, A and AS levels, and NVQs on the island. She spoke of how the island's students sit their exams on the same day as those in the UK, and then the exam papers are shipped to the UK for marking. The stories thus illustrate how the community of St Helena continues to be ideologically interpellated as a community associated with, and dependent on the UK, for much more than a material and financial link. It is an ideologically imagined link. School children have been taught about the UK; they are aware that their teachers go to the UK for training; and they have an education based upon the British curriculum. Additionally, the ISA of the family, supports the ISA of the education system.

Ruby described how by travelling to the UK for training fulfilled her father's dream. Moreover, within her story she narrates a generic and dominant narrative for the islanders, which is passed from one generation to the next. The generic narrative is that of the St Helenian dream, in other words, the migration away from the island to better oneself. This supports the work of Dittmer and Larsen (2007), who drew upon the work of Althusser within their research on the construction of Canadian nationalism. They used Althusser to illustrate how audiences are interpellated by the limited discourses and identities that are available to them. Subjects are thus seduced by 'collective fantasies such as nationhood' (Dittmer & Larsen, 2007, p. 737).

Ruby, 44, off-island 1994 I was teaching back home and every year the island sends, or used to, I don't know what happens now, but they used to send 12 people who work for the Government to the UK for training in whichever field they were working in. And I came over with two infant teachers, a senior teacher and an environmental health lassie, a girl who worked for the environmental health, and I was uum, I needed training for middle schools cause our system was going to change from infant, junior, senior to the first, middle and, cause we had the big central school built, the Prince Andrew School. And they asked me if I'd like to go and uum, I didn't know if I wanted to come over, it never really bothered me, and my Dad said I must go cause it would fulfil his dream to come here, for me to come here, cause he couldn't come, uum he wanted to and my mum wouldn't leave the island, so he felt that he would never be able to come, so I accepted and the following year in August we came over

However, it is not just the education system that follows the British system, it is all the institutions on island. Julie illustrated how the Health Service on the island is instrumental with the interpellation of St Helena being a British island; instructing a British way of life and a British identity. However, whereas Ruby spoke of her willingness to engage with the British system to please her father, Julie revealed her resistance to conforming to the British institutions:

Julie, 37, on-island I use my job now as a nurse and like, they always be saying to you about the UK standards, but like eh, back here now, we just small island and we don't have the facilities to work with, but like they will drum it into you, you know, uum, we must work towards the British standards

What this research has so far illustrated is that St Helenians are dominated by British national identities and discourses, due to the economic and institutional practices on the island. Moreover, other symbols of Britishness exist on the island such as the British Royal Family, who are also supported by the ISAs of the family and education. One islander now 70, showed me the photos of the Royal family which were given to him when he was a school pupil. His Mum framed them and hung them on the wall, where they have stayed ever since. Another St Helenian tells a similar story, using the words 'roots', 'belong' and 'family', to explain why she likes being attached to Britain. For Carol, her sense of belonging and ideological sense of an imagined community beyond the island, has been secured by the symbols of Britishness on the island:

Carol, 54, off-island well I am proud to be British and I'm proud to be St Helenian, uum, I don't know, it's just nice to know your roots, who you belong to, just like a family, you want to know who you belong to, yes, because especially when my Dad was here because we had all these, you know the boards were covered with like the Queens and the Kings and oh my word, especially the old people, always, your walls were covered with the British Royal Family,

Robert argued how 'we is more British than anybody' and he gave the example that St Helenians honour the Queen and the Union Jack, and that every St Helenian house has a 'picture of the Royal Family, I mean we honour the Queen right, that is our Queen right'. Eve recalled how the Royal family visited the island and how she met the Queen, and shook hands with Prince Andrew and Princess Margaret. Thus, in many ways the Royal Family has served as an ideological

function, which retained a sense of Britishness and deference on the island (Billig, 1992, p. 13). Moreover, on the island are the constant banal symbols of British nationalism, which serve to continuously remind the islanders of their Britishness, national identity, and ideological and emotional ties to the motherland (Billig, 1999, p. 7-8).

The Royal Family as Head of the British Empire (now Territories) have subsequently been instrumental in continuing the hailed British sense of identity, for the St Helenians. Not every St Helenian continues to embrace the British monarchy and this is something that will be discussed in chapter 6. However, many St Helenians have illustrated their hailed position through treasuring the presence of the British Royal family, either through telling the stories of when they were on island, or through symbolic ornaments within their homes.

Within his narrative, Jim confirms Althusser's argument that it is not history that moulds a society but rather it is ideology. He recalled many of the other cultures that have contributed to the island's history, yet he rejects their contribution to his national identity, to reaffirm his sense of Britishness and his official British national identity:

Jim, 49, off-island I'm a British person, no matter if I am on St Helena or I'm here, cause St Helena is Britain, it belong to Britain, so it is British, a British island so you become British, see, so I can't say I am an African because I am not, can't say I am Portuguese cause I am not, Chinese I am not

This section of this thesis has illustrated that the islanders have been hailed by their British identity. However, their narratives also reveal that their British

identity is not something that is a given, or undoubtedly secured. Rather, the islanders have to work at their British national identity and defend it. Their narratives are rhetorical and consist of stories of persuasion, stories of proof, and stories of legitimacy.

The islanders have clearly been hailed into a sense of insecurity. However, not all forms of power on the island are ideological. Other forms of power and Britishness on the island are explicitly top-down and not disguised as being island-led. Such forms of top-down power, nonetheless, continue with the ideological hailing of the islanders. For Althusser (2008, p. 19), institutional state apparatus are the tools that implicitly *and* explicitly teach subjects their status and identity. This is through behaviour such as praise, encouragement civic instruction and top-down order. This chapter will now continue to consider the formal hierarchies on the island that contribute to and reinforce, the island's sense of a British national identity. It will also examine the informal hierarchies to illustrate further the complexity of the islanders sense of a British national identity.

A Structured Community: Formal and Informal Hierarchies on St Helena

Symbolically demonstrating the St Helenians position as quasi-British citizens is the British ex-patriot Governor who resides on the island. The islanders are told they are British citizens. However, they are simultaneously interpellated into an awareness that they are not 'true' British citizens, but instead are British Overseas Territorials watched over by a British representative.

The British, ex-pat Governor, is undoubtedly the highest paid person on St Helena and his wage is probably fifty times that of the average St Helenian wage. For St Helenians, wages on the island tend to start at £2,000 for an unprofessional, domestic job. A teacher can expect to earn £4,000, and a top post such as a Head of Department can expect at least £11,000. The Governor resides in the largest property on the island and its name, Plantation House, holds an explicit reminder of the slavery and brutality that once existed on the island, as well as the past systems of hierarchy which positioned the British as the masters. The Governor holds various parties throughout the year for various different social groupings on the island. Such parties tend to include ex-patriots residing on the island. Additionally, according to Faith, the invited higher-status St Helenians sit around the edges looking uncomfortable. Although now supposedly more inclusive to the ‘everyday’ St Helenian, Faith described how her brother has ‘never stepped foot over the door’ and she speculated that this is the case for many St Helenians. Moreover, Terry confirmed his awareness of the existing hierarchies on the island, which position the St Helenian community as subordinate:

Terry, 57, on-island here the strata it still is, you know, white is the overseer and you know, I mean, certainly at the moment the colonial, well not colonial anymore, DfID and so on, you know we don’t have a Black Governoress or anything like that, you know they are still stuck in the White male model, and uum, and paying [paid] enormous amounts of money in relation to their colleagues,

The presence of the Governor on the island is clearly symbolic and reaffirms the Motherland’s position at the top of a hierarchical relationship with the island. Anna described how the Governor is chauffeur driven around the island in a Jaguar, with a British flag on the front of the car. She described how a new Governor gets

‘sworn in and stuff and there’s a big ceremony and everything’. Such official and non-official ‘status rituals’ demonstrates that deference and demeanour remains embedded and naturalised within the island’s formal rule of conduct (Goffman, 1972, p. 57).

The Governor has various roles to play on island such as exercising authority as Head of State. In the past, islanders have had to individually seek permission from the Governor to visit family on the neighbouring island, Ascension Island. Moreover, islanders have had to ask permission for particular visas if wanting to travel to the UK. St Helenians have also been summoned to the Governor if their behaviour was considered inappropriate. One respondent spoke about how in the 1960s a South African man was residing on the island. This man was trying to establish new businesses on the island, as well as a sense of entrepreneurialism, and he tried to buy shares in one of the businesses on the island. The St Helenian Government blocked his efforts and purchased the shares for themselves. Moreover, they eventually deported the businessman and his family from the island (Gillet, 1983, p. 154). Within his story, James discussed how he invited the South African to the island’s secondary school, to talk with the school children. He recalled what happened next:

James, 70, on-island so I was all for the sixth formers eh, making up their own minds about what was happening you see, so I invited this fellow up, in fact I, I really didn’t take to him at all quite frankly, I didn’t like some of the things he was doing, and getting him to talk to this final [year group], what he was doing. The next day I got a phone call, I got hauled up before the Governor, to find out what am I doing up there, inviting this man up, oh yes

The islanders are clearly, when necessarily, controlled by the top-down power of the British state. However, at times, the opportunity arises where they can express themselves informally and discretely, and resist the formal displays of hierarchy through ‘informal means’ (Skinner, 2002b, p. 306). Admittedly some decades later (1990s), and with a different Governor, Anna gently undermines the ex-pat Governor through her story of humour. This is not a situation she experienced for herself, but rather a story that she has been told because it continues to circulate around the island:

Anna, 28, on-island you get here on the RMS, docking all the way out cause there’s no dock and you have to come to shore in a little tiny boat and uum I know its not very safe but uum its like all part of the experience of getting here. Once the Governor fell in and he was on You’ve Been Framed (laughs) ... he stepped off, well he stepped and I think the boat went out cause a wave came and he just went down in-between ... he had his hat and suit and everything, his armour and sword, I think he was ready to be uum, cause when they come ashore, the new Governor, I think they get sworn in and stuff and there’s a big ceremony and everything

An ex-patriot administration team supports the Governor on the island. There are also two councils; the Legislative Council (LEGCO) and the Executive Council (EXCO), who inform, as well as answer to, the Governor. The political situation on the island is discussed in more detail in the Prelude to this thesis. However, Marcus stated his reservations regarding the supposed democratic political system on the island. He claimed EXCO make all the final decisions because this is the committee where the ex-pat Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and Governor are members. Marcus continued to explain how the Governor would, on occasion, over-rule decisions made by the St Helenian Government or Departments, if he decided their decisions to be inappropriate. Marcus provided the recent example that was covered in the local newspaper, whereby the St Helenian immigration team initially refused

an overseas businessman permission to set up a small business on the island, but the Governor overruled this decision. Marcus explained there was a ‘big who-hah over that, he shouldn’t have the ability to be able to do that’.

It is the St Helenian Government, ironically controlled by an ex-patriot Governor, who control the everyday running of the island. Subsequently many St Helenians directed their frustration and resentment towards the St Helenian Government. Jim, for example, described how because jobs are limited on the island, the St Helenian Government introduced the ‘three-day-week’ to ensure there is enough work for everyone on the island, even though this means less wages for the islanders. Similarly, Geoff claimed the St Helenian Government unfairly ‘control the levels’ and prevent islanders making more money if they work more than one job. This has been, he argued, done through the capping of the overall wages that an islander can earn in a week. He claimed ‘you ain’t supposed to make no more than say £30 a week’. Moreover, Terry described the ‘archaic pension system’ that the St Helenian Government awards their employees, whereby you have to work all your working life for the St Helenian Government to receive a pension, and if you leave prior to retirement you loose any previously accumulated pension rights.

The overdetermination subsequently continues. The effects of the British Government and economy are not only disguised by the geography of the island, but also buffered by the St Helenian Government. The St Helenian Government has become the focus of the blame and resentment of the islanders, even though ironically, the St Helenian Government is, in many respects, actually a British Government.

One political and economic issue that does appear to have improved for the islanders living on the island, is that the Heads of Departments now tend to be St Helenian. The island also now has its first St Helenian Deputy Governor. Faith however, claimed how when the actual Governor is absent from the island, the Deputy Governor has unnecessarily reduced rights compared to the actual Governor. Moreover, she revealed her frustration with the tendency, more so in the past but also very much part of the present, of British ex-pats taking the higher-status jobs on the island. She explained how when ex-pats penetrate the isolation of the island, in other words, when they ‘come in’, the discourses of the islanders’ subordination consume them, and an over inflated sense of importance is created. Subsequently, Faith’s story is one of distinction, resentment and an ever occurring ‘gap’ between the British and the St Helenian:

Faith, 46, on-island people have been sick of ex-pats on this island for years, absolute years, because when we were at school I remember we wrote a song, uum, farewell expert, learner welcome and all this kind of thing, I mean it’s been experts for years and uh, they will all, the Heads of Department were sort of experts coming in, and what they do so wrong, what they really do wrong, is they come and they have this clique, you know, and they go to all these little parties, but they go from house to house or their parties and so on, They get here, they become these important people, and they’ve forgot what they said they were going to do and, suddenly life revolves around their importance

The building of an airport has meant that the island has seen many highly paid British ‘experts’ come and go. Geoff recalled how over the years he has known of millions of pounds being spent on British experts arriving on St Helena to assist with the plans of building an airport. However, the airport has never materialised, and the money could have been spent on the island in better ways. Within his

personal repertoire he uses the metaphor of ‘going down the drain’ to explain how actions for development for the island are futile:

Geoff, 47, off-island you get fed up because what’s, I mean what the St Helena Government and the British Government does is, they spend all their money to get them out there,, and then they put all their efforts into you know, what has got to be done, training and what have you, and do reports and things, and then it slowly, it slowly goes down the drain, nothing becomes of it, you know, nine times out of ten all the experts that goes out there, you know, there’s no outcome to it, nothing, you don’t see anything from it, really,

Nurses and teachers from the UK often come to the island as ‘experts’ to help fill posts where the necessary expertise is low. British nurses and teachers are paid more than the St Helenians nurses and teachers. Thus, a St Helenian can find themselves working alongside an ex-pat, with the same qualifications as themselves, but with lower pay. One Head of Department raised the point that St Helenians are supposed to benefit from working alongside an ex-pat and their expertise. However, the average ex-pat nurse or teacher, willing to work for a couple of years on a remote island for a relatively low-British wage, tends to be the younger and newly qualified nurse or teacher. Thus, they lack experience. Ironically, the St Helenian can often find they are supporting the ex-pat ‘expert’. Clara confirmed that this is just another situation where St Helenians can find themselves formally structured into a subordinate position in relation to a British person. She argued that due to inequality between the St Helenian and the British, migration for St Helenians has become ‘a way of life’:

Clara, 74, on-island well yes, because this has been the way of life, people have had to go away to work, because I wouldn’t come back here to work, for the money they were offering me. Years ago when I first qualified as a nurse I was offered £19 a week. Why should I come back

from England and work for £19 a week? Because I don't know whether it still is, I believe so, there are two sets of wages here, one for the saints and one for the ex-pats. And that's, I believe that is a disgrace because uum, in the old days I was more qualified anyway, than the people they were sending out here. So uum, that was unfair, and that's why I never came back to work here

The above quote from Clara illustrates how St Helenians to a certain extent, do have a sense of agency and choice; they can chose to stay on the island, or if possible, leave the island. However, what it does illustrate is that they have no actual choice whilst on island, with regard to neither their wage nor their status. Moreover, the frustration does not end there. Julie described how when an ex-pat nurse leaves the island, many islanders like to give the ex-pat nurse a gift as a symbol of their thanks for their service. However, she is frustrated because when a longer-serving St Helenian leaves, they will not receive a gift of thanks for their service. This demonstrates that St Helenians themselves, choose to provide preferential treatment to the ex-pat, who ironically already has more material perks than a St Helenian. It could be argued that this is because individuals and groups behave according to how they perceive themselves to be morally obliged, in this case, with the appropriate symbolic deference (Goffman, 1956). In Althusserian terms, St Helenians recognise their hailed position as being part of a subordinate culture and they subsequently behave accordingly. However, as will be discussed within chapter 5, Bourdieun terms would consider this a form of symbolic violence. Such symbolic violence forms part of the ideological process whereby St Helenians recognise the higher value of a British ex-pat and misrecognise or fail to notice the value of someone from their own community:

Julie, 37, on-island I could give you one example now on uum, the health team now, is like uum, they have doctors come here, they have health promotion officers and nurses too, this and that, they come here like as locums. They only be here for just less than a year, it might be for just over a year, and like the department will break their neck as from going from one section to the next for donating money to buy a gift to give that person cause they done well for you, for the department and, you know, you hear so much. But then I going to use myself, as being in nursing for ten years and I never hear for anyone going round the Department to donate me a gift for my service in the department, which I feel really bad about, you know, cause like my ten years don't, ain't recognized in the Department like that person who came here for just three or four months or maybe a year, you know, and it's really frustrating anyway, I can tell you that, ... last week a [St Helenian] nurse left the hospital with eighteen years and nobody never went round with a paper for her, you know, and I feel sure that she was frustrated about it

Julie's story illustrates how ex-pats arrive on the island to work within the island's institutions and services. This then provides the tools for the ISAs on island to reaffirm the hierarchy between the high-status British ex-pat and the lower status St Helenian. However, her story also demonstrates her dissatisfaction with the situation and her personal and emotional resentment of these material and psychological structures that continue to position the St Helenian community as subordinate to the British.

Similar to the findings of Skinner (2002b, p. 306) however, resistance to the formal displays of hierarchy are often expressed through 'informal means'. For example, whilst I was on the island the ex-pat nurses described how they often find St Helenians difficult and frustrating to work with. Within the hospital they often found patient's notes filed under the patient's nickname, thus creating barriers for the ex-pat nurse. Similarly, ailments were found to be diagnosed, not based upon empirical tests undertaken at the hospital, but rather assumed due to the patient's family history. The ex-pats were clearly distressed by the lack of health and safety

regulations. However, they were also bitter at the St Helenian nurses nonchalant behaviour. Thus, on the one hand, the St Helenian community appears to be interpellated by Britishness. On the other hand, they appear to be paying lip service.

To summarise, many islanders spoke of their dissatisfaction with the St Helenian political system and life on the island. Subsequently, this neo-Althusserian analysis provides the tools to understand the actual and material structures, that are imposed upon the islanders, regardless of whether they are recognised by the islanders themselves. The islander's limited employment opportunities and limited wages by the St Helenian Government, structures and limits life-experiences for the islanders on St Helena. Moreover, the explicit hierarchies that exist on the island between the British ex-pat/expert and the St Helenians, reinforces their subordinate position. Although frustrating for many, this has become a 'naturalised' process through the enforcement practices of the ISAs, due to the island being a British-governed Overseas Territory.

Institutional State Apparatus and Structured migration

In the Prelude of this thesis, I referred to Cohen who argued that the education system on the island, which claimed to be aiming for 'less dependent minded' children, was actually counter-productive (1983a, p. 9). Cohen also argued that employment within agriculture on the island was not sought after. He quoted an agricultural advisor on the island who claimed that the lack of enthusiasm was due to a lack of profit, and that the Government and landowners on the Island claimed they work at a loss. Cohen (1983b, p. 133) continued to note the irony when he quoted

part of the St Helenian Development Plan of the 1970s, which claimed in the same paragraph to want to inspire St Helenians into improving the Island's capital 'by their own efforts', yet also stated how the islanders 'need to be 'led out' of their low productivity trap'. Regarding the island's low productivity, Cohen questioned 'have they fallen, or were they pushed?' (Cohen, 1983b, p. 135).

Supporting the arguments of Cohen, who also argued that due to employment prospects on St Helena being so dire, the islanders have become a 'stagnant pool of 'relatively surplus population'' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 8), I argue that 'pushed' can refer to the islanders being pushed into low productivity, and thus pushed as migrants overseas. Almost thirty years after the work of Cohen, many islanders continue to feel there is nothing on the island for them. Many St Helenian's continue to blame the geography of the island, as well as the St Helenian Government, as opposed to the British Government. Tania stated how the governance on the island is 'so slow'; Adam referred to 'a lot of barriers'; and Geoff claimed 'we kind of being still kept down by them, you know'.

Eve stated how 'not all St Helenian people want to go to England' and Marcus stated how he feels islanders are 'forced' away by the economic situation on island. Zoe reflected upon when she was young and her dad went to work on The Falkland Islands, but neither of her parents actually wanted him to go. She argued that because the Government make is so hard for islanders, they have no choice but to go. Within her discussion, Zoe highlights the contradiction of islanders being 'forced' as well as deciding to go:

Zoe, 27, on-island because you know, its all the politics here as well, you know, the government don't actually make it easy for us here, they make it harder, so we are in a way, forced, to better ourselves by going overseas. Cause I'm pretty sure that if it was easy here for us, and if we had like, a couple of hours drive to another place, then I'd say there would be lots of saints coming back home

Researcher is that the government though, that was geography what you just said then

Zoe and our geography, and politics, and ok, so geography, the fact that if we were just down the road from somewhere it would be easy, but also the government don't make it easier for us if the, all the bills and the high rates and high tax and everything else, you know, government, they do make it a lot harder for us here

Researcher so you think some people are reluctant to go. They don't actually want to go, but they feel they've got to

Zoe yeah, because I remember when I was a kid and my dad uum, my mum and dad wanted to do up their house, so he had to go off to the Falklands in, and he didn't really want to go, he didn't want to go because my mum had four kids, he didn't want to go off and leave her with four kids to look after plus working, everything else. But because they didn't have much choice and they had to struggle. So it was a decision, you know. We have to do this now so that down the road it will be better for us than just to, you know, getting by and not getting what they wanted so

What this thesis needs to address therefore, is why St Helenians create a desire to leave the island, or even have a 'natural instinct' to leave. Once more, this chapter returns to the ideology of the islanders, and the theories of Althusser and Institutional State Apparatus. The family as an ISA have undoubtedly played a part within the migration decisions of many St Helenians. Jonathan stated 'basically my mum told me to get out and make some money' and by 'get out' she meant overseas. Another young islander spoke about how her mother was currently encouraging her and her sister to go overseas for 'better opportunities and better experience of life'. One respondent stated how back in the 1960s his father actually lied to the recruiting officers on Ascension. He told them his son was older than he actually was so that he could get a job overseas. Islanders are clearly interpellated into their migration choices and hailed as migrants by their own families.

Althusser (2008, p. 20) noted how ISAs help smooth over the tensions and contradictions that are simultaneously embedded within ideology. One of the ironies noted on the island, by myself as the researcher, was the sense of pride that many of the islanders inflected as they described how the educational system has improved since the 1960s, yet simultaneously many others spoke about how the island offers limited career prospects. This continues to support the work of Cohen (1983a, p. 9) and Royle (2001, p. 217) who argued that the education on the island does not educate the St Helenian children for a life on the island.

Within her interview, a current sixth former commented on how her teacher often asks her class if they intend to go overseas, for more opportunities such as hairdressing or journalism. Subsequently, the education system as an ISA hails the children as the next generation of migrants. ‘Around the age of sixteen, a huge mass of children are ejected ‘into production’ (Althusser, 2008, p. 29), although for the St Helenians they are also ejected overseas. Continuing the ‘St Helenian Dream’ stories, Faith spoke about how most school children desire to go overseas:

Faith, 46, on-island and I think you will still find it now if you speak to children, in fact I know you will still find it now, the St Helena culture I think, part of the culture, we aspire to growing up and going away to save money for a house and come back, the coming back is not so easy anymore I think, but that is the main aspiration and you might have already found that already, I mean just recently, not that long ago, a few months ago at the Secondary School, ... I asked the question there, how many of you would uum, intend to go away, and I think bar about half a dozen hands they all went up,

Corbett (2005, p. 54) wrote how education in remote rural communities often fails to serve the needs of the community because those who become educated are

more likely to migrate. However, whereas Corbett perceived this to be a naïve error of community developers trying to enhance a community, an Althusserian would argue this would be a ‘natural’ default for a capitalist and consumerist society. Thus, the St Helenian education system as an ISA, is not only educating the children in a way that is inappropriate for life on the island, but it is interpellating them as the next generation of migrant workers. Moreover, due to the system being based upon the British education system, the children are being educated in an appropriate manner for them to be able to work for British employers.

As stated by Cohen, the island is continuing to create a ‘stagnant pool of ‘relatively surplus population’” willing to work on Ascension Island (Cohen, 1983a, p. 8), whereby as they conform, ‘there is a place for him, an assurance is offered’ (Callinicos, 1976, p. 66). This is the formation of the St Helenian subject, which supports the capitalist ideology. St Helenians are socially constructed individuals who recognise their place, in this instance, somewhere within the overseas labour market. Thus, the teaching of a British system, and in particular the teaching of a British mode of production, was confirmed by Ruby when she described how her education on the Island was all about industry. Her story was one of shock as she realized there was more to UK life than work:

Ruby, 44, off-island I remember thinking this is absolutely beautiful, like there is green everywhere and you know, trees and flowers and I was getting all excited, and for months I was just writing to my mum - trees and flowers and trees and flowers and grass - like you know, cause I had always thought of England as buildings, ... when we got taught in school we got taught about the iron and steel industry, the coal mines, and trains, but we never really talked much about the grass and the greenery eh, we just talked about industry... the truth about that is I only learnt, I learnt more about St Helena when I came here than I did on the island

Joanna stated how fifty percent of her teaching staff migrated in one academic year, thus not only creating a disruptive experience for the children, but also creating role models and ‘naturalising’ the process of migration for the continuously hailed school children. This obviously adds to the frustration with living on the island because a ‘brain drain’ has taken the majority of the skilled workers, friends and family, from the island. This continues the cycle where more want to leave.

Adam commented on the loss of registered nurses and police, and Jane noted how with a lot of the working population abroad, there are fewer people left on island paying taxes, and so ‘you have holes then in service provision, you have holes in tax base, you have holes in skills base’. Adam noted the irony of the situation as many islanders would prefer to be on St Helena, and so particularly for those who spend most of their working lives on Ascension or The Falkland Islands, a ‘lot of their life is wasted’.

Migration has thus become naturalised on the island, assisted by the ISAs of the family and the education system. Zoe described how she was not asked *whether* she was going overseas, but *when*, thus implying it is an expectation within the community:

Zoe, 27, on-island somebody actually asked me yesterday, he asked me oh so when are you going again, and I was confused for a second cause I didn’t realize he was asking me when are you leaving the island, I thought he was just asking me when am I going to Donny’s or wherever, and he was asking me when am I going, and I was like no, I will be home for a while....I dunno, the thought of changing to go overseas and, and just, not the hassles of it all, I like the whole slow pace

life you know, I like the easy-going-ness, I don't like the rushness and the hassles that come with it, so I am just, maybe I am just lazy

Within his Althusserian analysis of therapeutic practice, Guilfoyle (2009, p. 167) argued how one of the therapy sessions he was analysing, was illustrating a woman's recognition of her ideological hailed position, by her self-acknowledged failure for not conforming to societal expectations. Guilfoyle gave the example of a woman apologising for not behaving rationally because she had suicidal feelings. Similarly, in her statement above, Zoe clearly recognises her place in the overseas labour market and her ideological hailed position as a migrant, but she characterizes this in self-derogation as a failure by admitting she is lazy. However, at the same time she appears to be self aware of, and resistant to, the societal expectation and ideological assumptions for her to go overseas and embark on the St Helenian Dream. Subsequently she is resisting the St Helenian Dream and her hailed position. She is denying the structurally overdetermined nature of the colonial gaze that directs her to a life overseas.

The hailing for St Helenians is thus complex. On the one hand it has created an idealized sense of the St Helenian self as successful migrants. On the other hand, the hailing for St Helenians can be reviled and internalised with a sense of guilt, disappointment or deviancy. There are however, many islanders who do not resist and many leave the island and work hard for a financially rewarding lifestyle. Althusser stated that for a complete 'endless chain', individuals have to desire consumerism and materialism, which for them drives their desire to work hard and spend hard. Like Zoe's narrative at the end of the last section, Geoff admitted that the St Helenian lifestyle does not allow a St Helenian to provide for themselves materially.

As Geoff stated, he felt compelled to leave the island and he felt compelled to earn the available material rewards:

Geoff, 47, off-island that's part of it is, it is all to do with having your own, you know, ... you like to have your own home, your car or something, and that sort of, which you know takes a lot of money then, you are forced to go off seas, overseas, to earn the money and save it, you know, cause this is what actually happened, and it still happening today, you know, people are forced to go to make more money, to better themselves you know, and to buy a car or house,

It is not the intention of this thesis to present a moralistic argument. Indeed, the rise of materialism and consumerism is a global phenomenon and it would be naïve to assume that the St Helenian community should not follow this phenomenon, nor should they be stigmatized for doing so. However, some of the St Helenians interviewed on island argued that St Helenians actually do not need to go but instead it is materialism that drives them, or hails them. Thus a complex and contradictory situation has occurred whereby many islanders love their life on the island and do not want to leave, but at the same time wish to embark on the St Helenian Dream of overseas success. This is symbolised by the purchase of material things.

The Endless Chain: Production, Consumption & Social Formation

One of the important limitations of an Althusserian perspective is its marginalization of social agency in favour of over-determining social structures (Thompson, 1979, p. 201). However, the purpose of this chapter and the Althusserian perspective is to retain the focus on the extraordinary powers of the structures, and these should not be underestimated in this state structured island community. The ISAs such as the education system and the family, as well as the wider community, continuously,

explicitly, implicitly and symbolically, interpellate the St Helenian dream. They hail those St Helenians who wish to be successful and teach them what success actually means. Tania stated how she started to recognize symbolic demonstrations of success within her community:

Tania, 58, off-island growing up, you see girls coming home who have been over here, sort of they used to come and work in domestic, and then they did like a two year contract, and then they'd come home and then of course when they come home they are wearing all the new gear and you think oh wow, you know, when I grow up that's what I want to do, I want to go to England, so of course uum I suppose when I came of age, ... as I said the girls would come home from England and say oh its great over there, so of course that's what inspired me in the first instance to come over

Mary also left the island over thirty years ago and she noted how she was ready to go. She had been interpellated and hailed by those who had gone before her and subsequently she was one who would make the decision to leave 'all by themselves' (Althusser, 2008, p. 56). Mary admitted she was blinkered by the prospect of leaving. Her mind was focused on getting off island, oblivious to anything else, and dressed ready for her 'round of compliments' from her community (Goffman, 1972, p. 71). Her story is one of dazzlement and indoctrination because that was 'all I could see', as well as pain for those left behind:

Mary, 59, off-island everybody else was, you know that was always the thing to do, it was very difficult even at that point in time, to get a domestic situation in this country, you had to go down and, a list of people waiting to come, and wait your turn, ... so by the time it came, and that big ship was sitting there waiting to take you away, I can remember getting all dressed up, gloves and stiletto heels and my handbag, as though I were going to a wedding, getting dressed up to leave the island, there's my mother crying, uum, and all I could see was that ship,

Referring to more recent times, Jane spoke about how a desire for materialism has increased even more on island. Not only is it a pull-factor for those wanting to go overseas, but it is now a push-factor for those families left behind. Jane described recent trends on the island whereby families want an extension to their homes, more white goods, more technology, garden furniture, clothes and refined foods, and so the Dad leaves to provide these things for the family. She argued that materialism is taking priority over family values. Moreover, Jane claimed St Helenian migrants purchase material goods and send them back to the island, simply to alleviate their guilt for leaving, thus securing further Althusser's notion of an 'endless chain' of production, consumption, capital and surplus. On a similar note, Terry referred to money sent 'back home' as 'conscience money'. One teacher also noted the differences she had noted in the playground in recent years. She appointed it to a rise of materialism on the island as well as the introduction of the mass media on the island. As stated in the Prelude to this thesis, television was introduced to the island in 1995 and the Internet was introduced in 1998. The island's television services come from America, South Africa and the UK. Thus, according to Rachel, the ISA of the media has been instrumental in hailing the children as consumerists, which in return, hails them as migrants:

Rachel, 36, on-island our children have gotten very materialistic, I mean even here in school you see iPods and MP3 players and digital cameras and, you know on days when we are off timetable they got video cameras and you know, better than what I got and I workin at this level, and they've got all these contraptions coming out, I mean all they talk about is play station and 'you watch the tele last night' and 'you see this movie' a lot of parents are overseas and these things come home and sort of, like 'I'm not on the island, I over here working and look what I send you' you know

St Helenians go overseas, work hard, buy material things for themselves and send goods and gifts home to compensate for their absence. This not only creates a desire for more material things for themselves but also a greater demand to send more material things home. Presents sent home have become a status symbol for those left behind, as well as a symbol that those left behind have not been forgotten. Terry described how for some elderly mothers, 'they dwell on it, these old ladies, they might say oh ... I got no slippers for my feet, when they've got a whole wardrobe full of slippers really'. Thus St Helenians have become part of the endless chain of production and reproduction, through capital, production, consumption and surplus.

ISAs thus help smooth over the tensions and contradictions that are simultaneously embedded within capitalist ideology. St Helenians are formed as subjects within a British education system, on an island that provides them very limited employment opportunities. They therefore 'submit freely to the commandments of the Subject' (Althusser, 2008, p. 56) and willingly enter the overseas labour market. However, one further irony for the islanders was that the place hailed for them i.e. the UK, was actually taken away from them with their loss of British citizenship rights. Subsequently, the 'stagnant pool' (Cohen, 1983a, p. 8) had no choice but to migrate to the working islands, where there is lower pay and limited status compared to the UK, yet higher pay than St Helena.

A Reserve Army of Labour: Ascension Island & the Falklands Islands

In recent years some significant structural changes have taken place to the islanders' British national identity and status, thus preventing particular forms of migration. As stated in the Prelude to this thesis, the 1981 Nationality Act finally took away the right of a British passport for St Helenians. Thus, although St Helenians have been interpellated as British citizens, their right of abode into the mother country has been declining since the 1960s. Richard subsequently stated 'I think the British are very cruel to us'. However, this did not mean that St Helenians could not leave their island at all. What it meant was they lost their ability to travel freely, and this led to the rise of low paid economic migration to the working islands: Ascension Island and the Falkland Islands. Terry described the situation for the islanders as being 'trapped' and 'blocked':

Terry, 57, on-island yes they were trapped, I mean they could go as far as, they could be migrant workers on Ascension or the Falklands and that was it, uum, so any ambition they had was, or living anywhere else, or doing anything else, was blocked,

Rosemary highlighted the irony of the islanders' loss of British citizenship and the British passport, because the visual symbols of Britishness remained in place on the island. Similarly, Edward queried why the motherland continued to pay for the island's economic dependency, whilst at the same time reduced the ability for the islanders to earn their own decent standard of living in the UK:

Rosemary, 50, on-island I just wonder when the British flag was up, why it's classed this here, as not British

Edward, 60, off-island what was the reason, cause they still sending us the grant ... so what was the point, it was better for them to see some of us come over here and get work, so it will make the burden, that's for them

The presence of Britishness follows the St Helenians, and they remain interpellated as British citizens, even when abroad and even when without full British citizenship. Rosemary described how the ex-pat Governor of St Helena, visited the islanders on The Falkland Islands when the plans for the airport were going ahead. His visit was to demonstrate that those St Helenians working abroad were not being excluded from decisions regarding the airport or the dissemination of information. Moreover, it was to smooth over any tensions that were occurring. This is similar to Noivo's (2000) research on 'Portugal's Day' discussed in Chapter Two. Noivo described how Portuguese ambassadors and officials visit the Diaspora to refresh, remind and reinstall a sense of loyalty to Portugal. Noivo (2002, p. 262) noted the Diaspora's feelings of manipulation by the Portuguese Government.

On the working islands of Ascension and the Falklands, St Helenians can earn more than they can on St Helena, but less than they could in the UK. St Helenians fill the unskilled, lower paid jobs and to current date continue to be paid less than the Americans or British that also work on the islands. St Helenians are employed on short-term contracts, usually 12 or 18 months in length, which tend to be rolled over into another contract. The contracts are usually within the military 'mess halls' or cafeterias for the British or American forces, or the BBC World Service. Some used to work for the now dissolved Pan AM (Pan American World Airways). St Helenians tend to work directly for major contractors such as SERCO

(Science and Engineering Research Council), NAAFI (Navy, Army, Air Force Institutes) or SODEXO (a French Hotel Services Company).

Joanna commented below about how she didn't agree with the domestic work that continued to be available in the UK. Therefore, until Ascension increased opportunities for women as well as men in the 1980s, and the Falklands started to provide work for men and women alike in the 1980s, the St Helenian Dream of leaving the island to better oneself was a 'hopeless dream'. Thus, when the Falklands 'opened up' and a new opportunity arose, her limited position hailed her into taking this opportunity:

Joanna, 47, on-island it was only because the ways to leave the island was so limited, back in the 80s, if I think about myself as a teenager for example, to leave St Helena was almost like a hopeless dream, you know, I, the only way to get off the island was to go first to Ascension or if you were lucky, to get one of the 18 or so domestic work permits that were issued every year [to the UK], and you are talking about 18 permits, uum, and you don't agree with the work because you are going into domestic work, so I never even thought of leaving St Helena, and then gradually as people had more opportunities available to them, particularly with the Falklands and the opening up of job opportunities there, I think people began to think well hold on a minute I can leave St Helena, and so that's why it happened, it wasn't that uum, prior to the 80s people didn't want to go, they just couldn't,

As British citizens of an Overseas British Territory, some islanders worked within The Falklands war. The RMS St Helena was taken from serving the island and was used to provide amenities to other ships that were looking for land mines. Adam mentioned how he baked bread for other ships. Similarly, Ben described how his father worked for the British forces on Ascension, making packed lunches that were shipped to the British forces on the Falklands. Thus, the interpellation of an ideological British national identity for St Helenians did not stop, even when the

official British identity with a right of abode in the motherland was no longer available. Geoff told his story of when he first went to work for the British forces on Ascension Island. He illustrated his accepted subordinate position as he remembered how he felt when he first arrived. He wanted to go straight home but forced himself to behave according to his multiple interpellated identities; one, as a migrant worker and one as young man. His story is one of exile as he used the metaphor of being 'in prison' to compare life to 'back home'. However, his story is also one of determination, conformity, and becoming a man:

Geoff, 47, off-island I must admit uh when I went to Ascension island that was when I was about 18 that's right, 18 years old, you know that was like somebody putting me into prison you know, cause that was the first time I'd been offshore, you know and I went, we had uuh barracks or individual rooms forming like a barracks, and when the gentleman showed me my room you know, it was just a mattress there, just like if you were putting someone into university, you know one wardrobe, a dresser, and a naked bed with one blanket fold up and that was it, and your pillows of course, and the sheets, and that was it, you know, ... and that put me off right there and then, you know I felt like I could have gone back to the quay and, to the docks, and got on a boat you know and sail back home again, it was very depressing you know, but that was at a younger age I suppose and your first time away from home yes it got better yes, you know I forced myself and said you know, I've got to pull my socks up and you know, I am a young man now and life begins, but yes it took me about six months you know until I slowly got over it,

Supporting the work of Moore (2000, p. 9), who argued that St Helenians on Ascension have no rights and can be deported, Geoff continued to illustrate how St Helenians have no rights and are treated as disposable on Ascension Island. He described how in the 1990s, his wife became ill and said how 'the military are very strict with people who are .. unfit, ..., so uh they decided to draw the line on my wife'. He and his wife then returned to St Helena. Terry told the story of how in the 1960s, 'the St Helenian Government said to the people on Ascension, Pan Am at the

time, don't pay too much money in wages, because it will upset the employment balance here'.

More recently, Donna described how St Helenians have no rights on Ascension and she told the story of how she tried to challenge the lack of rights of the living conditions for a married couple. She noted the injustice of a system that pays St Helenians less than the British, even when doing the same job. Unlike St Helena, Ascension Island does not have a British Governor, but instead has a British Administrator. She explained how the Administrator admitted the system breached human rights. She explained how she and her husband decided to leave Ascension Island because the structures were inhumane:

Donna, 36, off-island when Tony and I got married he was working on Ascension Island, so uum he decided he didn't want to come home because you get more money on Ascension Island. So we moved to Ascension and we were there for a year and I couldn't get a, well I got a job working in security at the airport, and we weren't very happy with our situation cause we had to live in two separate bashes as they call them. Even though we were married we weren't allowed to live together. So what we did was we got a friend to uum give up the bashes that was next to Tony, and she took my one and so we could have a room next to each other. And we turned one into a sitting room and the other one into a bedroom. Well, we wanted a family and if I'd have gotten pregnant we would have had to send the children home or I would have had to go home. My parents would have just temporarily adopted them or I would have had to go home, ... there is no family unit on Ascension Island, it is just so broken and false. I couldn't see bringing a child up there cause you don't have that family unit around you, I found that really hard, lack of support from family members like the living conditions with the contracts and that. We actually went and spoke to the Governor, not the Governor, the Administrator about it Tony and I did. Cause we didn't think it was fair that married couples should be separated like that and he said he knew it was wrong but there was nothing he could do because of the way SERCO had signed the contracts and things like that. So he was aware that it was a human rights issue and he showed us where it was written that couples shouldn't be separated or even families who have children. Its against our human rights. And also what we weren't happy with was the fact that we were doing the same job as British people,

cause we weren't British then we were Overseas Territories or whatever it was, uum. We were doing exactly the same jobs as they were, but they getting double of the wages that we were getting, so we thought that was wrong as well, it is totally wrong, we were getting 300 - 500 a month and they were getting £1000 doing exactly the same job. Sometimes Tony was more qualified than his colleagues and you know it's not fair in a way so we thought right we cannot be a part of this system no longer and that was one of the main reasons we were to leave. We just felt we couldn't deal with the injustice of the situation you know, it was just wrong

Although migration to Ascension Island increased in the 1980s and migration to the Falkland Islands started in the 1980s, St Helenians have been exposed to migration for many generations. As illustrated in the Prelude to this thesis, the island has experienced many different waves of migration. Prior to the South African apartheid, and during times of particular economic difficulties on the island, many St Helenians migrated to South Africa. Men also left the island on the Norwegian whaling ships, and some worked for the British on the Cable Ships that laid transatlantic telecommunications cable. Thus, migration is not a new phenomenon to the islanders and neither is prejudice or discrimination.

A Reserve Army of Labour: Prejudice, Exclusion & 'Non-Legitimate' British Citizens

Using the theories of Althusser, Milios and Dimoulis (2006, pp. 146-7) argued that nationalism is one of the elements that constitutes the complex whole and displaces the domination of the economy. Nationalism, class and hierarchy are the vehicles used to justify the contradictions in the economic system. Thus, in addition to the racist (Moore, 2000, p. 3) and discriminatory (Cohen, 1983b, p. 123) 1981 British Nationality Act which denied the islanders their British citizenship rights and

positioned St Helenians as British ‘others’, the islanders as migrants have experienced various other forms of prejudice and exclusion.

Following the 2nd World War, many men joined the British Forces and the ‘100 men’ migrated to the UK to work for the labour shortages (Yon, 2002). During these years, the class structures were much more explicitly tolerated and accepted, as were the structures of racism. Robert, for example, described how his Grandfather went overseas to work on a cable ship for fifteen years. He mentioned how the Captain and Officers were English, but the crew were all St Helenian.

Due to their limited and gendered overseas opportunities, St Helenian men have tended to experience subordination and explicit prejudice on Ascension Island and in the UK. (For examples of racism encountered by the 100 men see Yon, 2002). St Helenian women, in comparison, have tended to experience subordination and more implicit forms of prejudice in the UK. Robert told his story of when he worked for the British firm Cable and Wireless, on Ascension Island, in the 1970s:

Robert, 66, on-island before days see, the English see, they was prejudice, yes, you see they had a club, an exile club right, and nobody was allowed up there. No Saints was allowed up there, see they had a swimming pool an outside swimming pool and it say private, keep out, you know, so the Saints used to swim in the turtle ponds right, and one night two Saints, they can’t find the Saints club eh, and they was half you know, cut, and what they do they went into exise pool to swim eh ... The next morning the manager had them up eh, right, they put them to the manager, so they ask them why they went to swim in the pool. They say well sir, we was tired swimming in the mud right. And you know what he did, they emptied the pool, scrubbed it out and fill it up before they would go back in that water because they find out that the Saints were swimming there, yes, honest to God ... this was back in the 60s, back in the 70s, it was back in the 70s.

One of the traditions that have been taking place within the St Helenian community over the last sixty years is that of ‘domestic’ migration and it has become a rite of passage for St Helenian women wanting to leave the island. One respondent jokingly referred to the domestic work that the St Helenian women engage in as the ‘slave trade’, and although many St Helenian women welcomed the opportunities that came with being ‘a domestic’, many have experienced prejudice as a consequence of their role. However, unlike the explicit racism experienced on Ascension Island, the prejudice the women experienced during domestic work was more accepted and ‘naturalised’ due to their gender and subordinate class position.

Wingrove (1999) used an Althusserian framework to illustrate how sexual identity is created within ideology. Wingrove (1999) noted how ISAs provide the rules and practices for women to behave and she used Althusser to argue that it is the imaginary relation to the structures and their practices that forms the actual reality. Thus, for the St Helenian situation, the ideological gendered identity explained why predominantly women were signed-up to domestic work, and why predominantly St Helenian women were subsequently hailed into becoming domestics, in other words, housemaids, cooks and cleaners, for the upper classes and aristocracy of Britain.

Carol, for example, described how she was expected to pick up the soiled underwear off her employer’s bedroom floor, and Sally described how her sister was expected to clean the outdoor swimming pool during the freezing January months, only two days after arriving in the UK for the first time. However, similar to work on Ascension, domestic posts became sought after. This was because whilst working for

British aristocrats, the St Helenians were provided with overseas employment which came with a place to live, food provided for, a sense of community and security.

Elsa commented on how she was pleased to enter into such work. However, Tania below stated how she was not particularly happy with the work, but on more than one occasion saw it as an opportunity to get off the island. She left for the first time when she was in her twenties, but then returned to the island some years later due to the end of a relationship. Ten years later she decided to leave the island once more, because she was with a different partner who wanted to leave the island. She became a domestic again, this time in her thirties:

Tania, 58, off-island yes I did, yes I came and worked for Lord and Lady Banbury, up in the North, yes it was a huge house yes, it's a big stately home where they entertain and have parties perhaps my dad thought if I was coming to England, perhaps do it a different route rather than come and work for someone else, well we didn't have the opportunity back then

What Tania's story illustrates is that migration was an option, for a limited number of islanders, if they themselves were prepared to do particular kinds of work. It also illustrates that not only has migration become naturalised on the island, but also that many islanders come and go throughout their lives, as they enter into various contracts and make the most of the limited opportunities available to them. The stories thus reveal the willingness and determination for many of the St Helenian community to migrate, even though they were often subjected to prejudice, and racial or class-led segregation, as well as denied their British national identity.

Sally described the rare yet explicit racism she received whilst working as a domestic. She described how her employer's son referred to her black skin in a derogatory manner, thus asserting his position as a white superior, and her position as the black St Helenian 'other'. Bernstein (2009) adopted an Althusserian analysis within his work on images that construct a racial or sexist meaning. Bernstein used the example of a 'light-skinned woman' (2009, p. 83) that posed for a photograph in the 1930s with a caricature of an impoverished African American. Bernstein argued that by having her photo taken in this manner the woman is reasserting her whiteness, and illustrating her non-blackness, because the black-skinned caricature interpellates to her, what she was not.

Since the return of British citizenship, Donna described how she ironically has tried to contest her continuing interpellated position as a non-legitimate British citizen. Donna explained how although she knew that she was British, and British citizenship had been returned to the islanders at this point, she realised she was continuously being positioned as an 'other'. She told the story of how a receptionist in the UK did not recognise her as British, and linguistically refused her a British identity. Donna confirmed it was her darker skin colour that caused the uncertainty regarding her identity. For Donna, her skin colour created a 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1981, p. 65) and interpellated her as a non-legitimate British citizen. Contradictingly, within her narratives, Donna reveals her own uncertainty regarding her national identity, and how she wished to officially refer to herself as an 'other':

Donna, 36, off-island before I open my mouth to speak I am, they label me as Asian right away, like when I go to the doctors I have to fill a form in, my ethnic group, I have no clue what my ethnic group is ... there was no box to tick Other, there was White British, Black British, Asian,

Caribbean, but no box for Other ... so they asked me what my heritage was so I told them where I was from and she just went oh that is easy enough she said, the lady is Asian, she said just put them in the Asian box. I turned around to her and said I am not Asian, So she said what are you and so I said my passport says I am British ... so when I came back out of the doctors the lady at reception said we just put down the ethnic group not stated, so I said fine leave it as that. You know when Stephanie was born and Sarah, the paediatrician came round with a form and said your children need TB, tuberculosis jabs, because you are from a country that is prevalent with cases of tuberculosis, I said its not, they said yes it is you are from India, I said I am not, I said ... I had to go through 3 or 4 nurses before [they listened] and I went through the same thing with her [her other daughter]. I was really cross I thought you just didn't listen to a word that just came out of my mouth, you just stormed ahead and booked her. And then my [St Helenian] friend, she is really black, really dark skinned, and her [St Helenian] husband is white so when Laura was born she was the same colour as you are [white], she said ... nobody ask her if her baby needed a TB injection cause her husband was there the whole time, white, and nobody ask her, why not, she looks much more Asian than what I do

Similar to Donna's implicit story of identitylessness and confusion, Ben explicitly stated how the recent past has left the St Helenian community with a sense of uncertainty about their official nationality. Moreover, he questioned the loyalty of the UK to the St Helenian community. Ben stated his belief that if the British Government denied the islanders their rights once, then there is no reason why they will not do it again. Similar to many St Helenians, Ben referred to The Queen to symbolise the country that he belongs to, but makes the point that his Queen and country denied him full citizenship rights. He described how when he first came to live in the UK the islanders did not have full British citizenship rights and so even though his parents were working they were not entitled to child benefit:

Ben, 22, off-island ... was it Labour or something that gave us the citizenship back, and you know, it's not, if they lose power again then it could be taken off us again really, realistically it could go again, which is wrong really, cause I mean when we first came here I wasn't entitled to any child benefit or anything, and you know, the Queen owns where I come from, so what is the big problem, but I had to be here for five

years before I was entitled to any child benefit ... even though they [his parents] were paying national insurance and everything with their jobs, we had nothing

Levitt (2001, p. 19) noted how migrants retain links with their homeland simply because they are excluded from full civic rights in their hostland. Moreover, non-white migrants find themselves blocked from upward mobility due to racism and discrimination. In 2002 the British Government returned to the St Helenians their right of abode in the UK, meaning for the first time in over forty years the St Helenians could once again utilise their full right of abode in the UK and their right to a British passport. However, particular structures remain and subsequently this final section of this chapter will return to the structure identified at the beginning of the chapter. That structure is the structure of getting on and off the island. Subsequently, since the return of British citizenship, many islanders continue to move in the first instance to Ascension Island or the Falkland Islands because the contracts on these islands includes a paid, return journey. From these islands, St Helenians can then save enough money to buy their flight to the UK. However, getting home from the UK can be incredibly challenging.

A Structured Homecoming

Rosemary noted how she cannot always get a space on the military flight between the Falklands and Ascension Island, nor can she always get a space on the RMS. Moreover, due to the time it takes to travel to the island, a two-week holiday on the island would require a minimum of four weeks for the round trip. Lisa stated that by working in the retail trade in the UK she could not get the necessary leave and so could not get home for 19 years. Similarly, Dawn stated how although she is in the

teaching profession and has six weeks holiday each summer, she still can't always get home because the ship may not be in the right place at the right time for her to utilize the full six weeks.

Dawn illustrated the extreme lengths of the journey home. She described how after her husband passed away the hospital embalmed his body. This was because there was no plane from the UK to Ascension Island for another two weeks. Then, following an eight-hour flight to Ascension, there would be a one-week delay until the RMS arrived at Ascension. There would then be three days on the RMS before actually reaching St Helena. It therefore took Dawn seventeen and a half days for her to get her husband's body back home, even though she took the first available opportunity.

If either the flight or the RMS becomes delayed, a journey home can be seriously disrupted and even ruined. Amanda recalled the time she took her children to St Helena. She actually gave up her part-time job to go to the island for the first time in 14 years, which in hindsight was the right decision because the one boat that served the island broke down. She had been due back to the UK in the February, but didn't actually get back until the April.

Ruby explained how when her father died, each of her siblings (two on Ascension, two on the Falklands and two in the UK) were able to get home for the funeral, simply because Princess Anne was visiting the island and her visit coincided with her father's death. She stated how it cost them all 'a fortune' but nonetheless, on this rare occasion, it all came together 'like clockwork'. In addition to the time it

takes to 'get home' for the islanders, the cost is also a problem. Donna explained how she wanted to visit the island because her Mum was ill. However, she could not go alone because her husband would not be able to look after their young children whilst he was at work. Subsequently, it would cost her £2000 because she would have to pay her children's fares. However, this would mean she would have to cope with both children on the eight hour flight, as well as for days on Ascension, and then whilst on the ship. The family couldn't afford for her husband to visit the island with her and the children. Moreover, he couldn't take the required length of time off work. She described the situation as having too 'many factors' that have to be sorted for just one trip home. She argued that St Helenians lack the 'God-given right' to go home:

Donna, 36, off-island I do feel sometimes frustrated with the fact that you know, I should think it is everybody's God given right to go home whenever they feel they need to but we can't cause there's so many factors to take into consideration when we want to think about it, it's just so hard. People fly out to, you know they live in Australia somewhere or Tonga or anywhere but they can still get home. It take them maybe a day or so but they do get home eventually. It's just so difficult, and you know you got an RAF flight it's a £1000 isn't it, it's ridiculous, I feel like they are squeezing you even more and more,

Sally noted about how when she went home with her family, each person had to pay £60 each way to land on Ascension, and then her British husband and British children had to pay the £10 fee to get onto St Helena. Geoff explained how because the island is served by only one ship, the British RAF and the St Helenian Government have a monopoly on the prices they can charge. Robert remarked how 'we got no choice cause that's our life line we don't have a choice'. Moreover, Sally said she feels the island is exploited because those who control the costs know they can financially exploit St Helenians because that is their only way home.

Conclusion

Skinner has already noted the complex structures that are interwoven around all of the remaining Overseas Territories, including St Helena:

‘Inhabitants are caught and taught into a relationship of racial inferiority, association and resistance with the white man, frustrated by the inability to emulate and mimic the tourist visitor ... Whether deluded and indoctrinated into subservience and a subordinate position or not, the remaining British Dependent Territories have all opted for constitutional ties with the unconstitutional state of Britain’ (Skinner, 2002b, p. 304)

Indeed, the narratives of the islanders have clearly demonstrated discourses of dependency. Because the islanders are administered by a public state economy on the island, they are clearly aware of their reliance on British ‘aid’. Moreover, they have no choice but to stay and accept a financially limited existence or become an economic migrant, usually on a low wage.

The Prelude of this thesis has demonstrated that a handful of literature already exists on the subordinate position of the St Helenians as well as their complex British national identities (Cohen, 1983a; Cohen, 1983b; Drower, 1992; Gillet, 1983; Royle, 1991). Althusser’s analytic framework however, has awarded purchase into how the St Helenian community are ideologically and institutionally hailed into becoming a subordinate and docile labour force, not only for British and American companies, but also for the British Forces and British aristocratic families. Subsequently, their choices are arguably not choices, but rather are taught and structured lifestyles due to the ideological state apparatus on the island.

Althusser believed society to be a complex whole, consisting of various substructures that influence each other, but the economic superstructure forms the main structure (1969/1971). However, he argued that the economy as the main superstructure disguises its dominance by an event, and the domination is subsequently attributed to the complex whole (Callinicos, 1976, p. 52). Indeed, the islanders often misrecognise the structures imposed upon the island and attribute the blame to the geography of the island. Geoff stated 'isolation is its main factor' and Richard claimed 'unfortunately we are too far from everybody, but that's our position geographically'. Similarly, Lord Jones of Cheltenham, cited within the Prelude to this thesis, argued that the island has no economy due to 'the difficulty of getting to and from St Helena'. Additionally, the St Helena Government website states 'St Helena's economy is very much affected by its physical isolation and limited natural resources' (St Helena Government, 2011). However, this chapter has illustrated how geography is not the single causal effect. Undoubtedly the dependence on the British politics and economics is what structures the St Helenian situation and this is underpinned by the islander's imagined national identity.

Within this chapter I have thus demonstrated the material structures and the psychological structures that exist for the islanders. The material structures are the lack of opportunity and enterprise on the island; the lack of resources that the island can access; and the difficulties in getting on and off the island. The psychological structures include the islander's subordinate position in contrast to the ex-patriots on the island; the implicit and explicit racialised and class subordinate positions they have been exposed to; and also the insecurity that the islanders have experienced due to their removal of their British citizenship rights.

Although the Althusserian analytical framework has awarded purchase into how the islanders recognise themselves as British citizens, even during a time when the structures of Britishness denied the islanders full British citizenship rights, the narratives have clearly demonstrated a sense of uncertainty and even identitylessness. From this perspective, it appears that the hailing of the islander's national identity has been weakened as a consequence of the British state denying the islanders their British rights. Althusser's argument that without ideology humans are an empty abstract canvas subsequently holds some purchase. This will be further investigated within chapter 6 of this thesis when the analytical tools of Althusser are triangulated with those of Bakhtin.

By using the Althusserian analytical concepts in a neo-Althusserian, cultural way, I have recovered the epiphenomenon that Althusser considered to be trivial in comparison to the economy and superstructures, and positioned the lived experiences of the islanders at the centre of this study. The consideration of culture, through an investigation of the experiences, ideas, thoughts, feelings and meaning making processes, which were desperately missing from Althusser's work (Thompson, 1979, p. 289), has provided a materially rich cultural analysis of the material structures and the psychological structures that exist for the islanders. Embodied within their narratives are the assimilation, reflection and reproduction of the economic and British ideological structures. However, by using a heuristic approach to Althusser's concepts, this chapter has also provided insight into resistance and frustration.

For a deeper more nuanced exploration of the resistance and emotions of the islanders however, I will now move on to investigating the islander's stories using

the analytical concepts of Bourdieu. Bourdieu's theories will be used to complement the work of Althusser and add to the triangulation of a nuanced and complex cultural understanding of the islanders. Bourdieu's analytical concepts will thus provide the purchase into a nuanced understanding of continuity and discontinuity, movement and agency, shifts and ruptures, movement and emotion, within this island community. Indeed, as stated at the start of chapter one, by the quote from James, there is more to St Helenianness than a subordinate, ruptured and disempowered history. This is what this thesis will now move on and consider.

CHAPTER 5: Habitus, Distinction and the Reproduction of Islandness

Introduction

Like Althusser, Bourdieu argued that ideology becomes embedded, reinforced and reproduced by societal institutions (Webb et al., 2002, p. 105). The work of Bourdieu will thus expand upon, and complement, Althusser's theoretical position. Bourdieu's analytical tools will assist the analysis of this thesis from an investigation of the state, material structures, psychological structures and subordination, into a more nuanced investigation of structure, change, agency, values, shifts, movement, emotion and capital. Using Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, this chapter will consider the knowledges, beliefs, values and feelings that have contributed to the formation of St Helenianness. Moreover, this chapter will draw upon the analytical concepts of the '*space of possibles*', the field, the habitus, capital, distinction and symbolic violence.

The Space of Possibles

Johnson (2009, p. 2) claimed that the fields of cultural production provides for individual agents who are involved within them, a space for them to live within, and to a certain extent, collectively create their own culture. 'Cultural fields' thus consist of the rules, regulations, values, institutions and discourses of a culture. This in turn creates the habitus, which is the site of particular attitudes and practices (Webb et al., 2002, p. 36). For Bourdieu it is the *space of possibles* that determines the parameters and potentialities of social action, for social agents within their field. As

circumstances and events arise within the social field, the *space of possibles* shifts accordingly. Subsequently, the *space of possibles* is dependent upon time and space.

Within his work Bourdieu (2010, p. 118) acknowledged the limitations of geography as a real space. After all, it is the geography of the island that limits resources and positions those living on St Helena at a ‘real’ distance from any mainland. However, the politics of British citizenship has meant that the St Helenians, both on and off the island, have been limited by the possibilities available to them within their social field. As I have noted in previous chapters, before 2002 the only way for most St Helenians to get off the island was to get a domestic job in the UK, obtain a work or education visa, or work on Ascension or the Falklands. Subsequently, many of the interviewees referred positively to when these islands ‘opened up’ to them in the 1980s. Thus, migration was limited for St Helenians and they welcomed opportunities to migrate.

Before I start to draw upon the stories of the St Helenian community, I have selected the following short quotes to illustrate the islanders’ emotion, excitement and satisfaction that the opportunities within the *space of possibles* generated. Janet went to the UK on a visa when she was 19, and Simon and Dawn went to Ascension. Each of them illustrate their agency, driven by feelings:

Janet, 51, off-island do you know what, I was excited because I think one of the reasons why I was excited, because my Mum had been over, ... and I wanted to get that same kind of experience, I was really looking forward and I think I was at the right age to leave home and branch out and do something else, and basically to be able to look after myself, I think I wanted that challenge to look after myself, uum, and I was kind of, I was ready for it

Simon, 55, on-island yes I went to Ascension when I was eighteen, just a month before I was eighteen years old, ...I spent eighteen years on Ascension and at that time I worked for Pan Am, that's an airline, a services thing, and the opportunity was there to fly for free or discounted fares all over the world, so I took the opportunity you know,they give us cheap flights, it was either ten percent and they pay the rest or it is free, and they had this agreement with other airlines

Dawn, 47, off-island well its like a stepping stone to here really you know, it's a better outlet, you've got the airport's there and you can go and come, that's what I like about it, every year you are able to go off and have a holiday, be it St Helena or be it here in the UK, And you know the beaches [on Ascension] and all, that was nice as well, I'm not sort of a beach babe as such but its nice to go walking along the beach and the beach parties and I quite liked that, and the turtles every year and I think the location, my location on Ascension was ideal you know overlooking the beach so, yes, it was attractive at the time

The social field is thus the force of energy that provides the site for struggles (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 41). Between the 1960s and 2002, the *space of possibles* provided opportunities on the Falklands and Ascension Island, as well as limited opportunities in the UK. Many islanders sought after these opportunities. Within their narratives, Janet, Simon and Dawn use the words 'challenge', 'opportunity' and 'outlet' as they recognise that they have had to use their agency to drive themselves forward and negotiate around the structures within their lives.

Many islanders additionally struggled and argued for their citizenship to be returned. This was not necessarily a passionate or determined fight by all islanders and this will be elaborated on in chapter 6. However, there was a struggle and a push for change nonetheless. This was due to the emotions of the islanders, which Felicity below confirmed. Thus, the quote below provides the testimony of how some St Helenians passionately fought for increased opportunities for the islanders.

Embedded within feelings of exclusion and rejection, Felicity discussed how the islanders utilised their agency within the *Space of Possibles*, and did what they could to continue the St Helenian Dream of success through migration. Felicity narrated how for the island some doors closed so they lobbied to get them reversed. She described how the islanders exerted ‘difficult political pressure’ and did an ‘immense amount of work’. Subsequently, some islanders have been able to live the dream and were able to ‘tap into’ certain avenues and from there ‘move on’:

Felicity, 53, on-island for the period when we didn’t have it, it was a constant source of frustration and irritation and depression ... at the time that it was actually taken away, there were emotions and all the rest, and uum there was a lot of pressure exerted on the British government at least to liberalise work permits so that there were other avenues to access the UK except for the case of domestic work ..., and after that the government set up the training and work experience, and we were also able to tap into what was called holiday work permits which had a duration of two years maximum, normally one year, for which individuals aged between 18 and 28 were eligible, and those schemes were really developed as a result of the difficult political pressure from St Helena, and St Helena Government. And then the Citizenship Commission set up which did most of the lobbying for the restoration of citizenship, but they weren't particularly involved in trying to get other doors open in the non-citizenship climate, they were basically just hoping on getting it reversed, getting citizenship reversed, and they did an immense amount of work and they did have public meetings and petitions and that sort of thing, so there was public support for that, and they did have quite a strong mandate from other people through petitions and so on. But as I say, Government was focusing on getting other doors opened, they managed to get exemptions to enable armed forces to recruit from St Helena, of course they always had recruited from St Helena prior to the citizenship being taken away, [but] when they took citizenship away that was a door that closed, and they managed to get that reversed. We managed to get the training and work experience scheme established and as I said we managed to get the holiday work and holiday permit scheme operating on quite an extensive scale. And there were a few individuals who went over on the training and work experience scheme or the holiday work permit scheme who as a result of the work, while they were in the UK, were able to qualify for further work permits, to remain on after their training had finished or after their holiday period had finished, without having to restrict themselves to just domestic work. That happened in the case of some individuals who went into nursing

and care homes and things like that, through the training and work experience, who then went on and qualified as nurses, for example, having completed NVQs and so on, and were able to apply and actually get a UK job and the work permit to go with it,

In 2002, a radical shift took place within the *space of possibles* because the islanders had their right of abode within the UK returned to them, as a consequence of the return of British Citizenship. Thus the structure that had prevented St Helenians from travelling, without a work contract or education visa, literally collapsed. Moreover, many of the islanders were fully aware that they were not content on island and once the structures behind their ‘official’ nationality collapsed, many of the St Helenians were ready and willing to use their skills to move overseas. As Terry stated, ‘they legged it’. He claimed what was important to St Helenians was ‘complete equality’ regarding their wages.

Janet described how she was in her late teens when citizenship was taken away. She stated how she was happy on the island at the time and was almost oblivious to what was going on because citizenship appeared to be ‘taken away quietly’. Although she was aware that some islanders held meetings and signed petitions, the majority didn’t really understand the meaning of it. However, now that citizenship has been returned and she has since settled in the UK, she claimed she now appreciates the barriers that the island had to overcome and that it is something to be valued, appreciated and cherished. Taking Janet’s narrative at face value, she provides testimony to how the islanders have emotionally adapted to having their British citizenship rights returned. Janet noted how since the return of British citizenship she now understands the meaning of British citizenship, which provides physical access

to the mainland. Like the generations before her, she now has an emotional attachment to the UK and this has helped form who she is.

Janet's narrative repertoire also reveals however, that for her, her national identity was a taught and an earned identity due to her education and upbringing. Britishness was not her birthright and her story of this bitter experience demonstrates her awareness that the structures of Britishness, and her national identity, is what creates her civic and democratic freedom. If it is taken away, she has 'had it'. The *space of possibles* for Janet and the islanders was thus established on the necessity to reclaim Britishness from a downgraded status. Janet does not complain about the British Government and refers to their decision to take citizenship from the islanders as 'that's ok'. Moreover, she doesn't quite finish her sentence of 'when we weren't allowed', as if she doesn't want to explicitly admit her once downgraded status:

Janet, 51, off-island uum, as a child I was always taught that I was British, so I have always grown up believing I am British, and to me this is just part of my home, its like, its almost as if like this is where I am attached, so its part of my identity I suppose. It is very interesting, I haven't actually thought about that, but I suppose it is part of my identity. As much as people say we love the island, if you take Britain from us, away, we've had it, we haven't got much of an identity, because we are, we are very British, uum, and we see ourselves as British people. And I think when we weren't allowed, it's a weird feeling thinking about it now, you know, but it makes you realise how much you have had and how much we need to appreciate. When we first came to this country and we couldn't do all of the things, which understandably ok we couldn't, that's ok, but like when you think about it now it was quite a barrier we had to get over, to become British citizens, and you see we've grown up in the age when we didn't realise all the benefits that people got before the right was taken away from us. So I can understand how people older than us must have felt, when all of a sudden they couldn't come into Britain or they couldn't work, because they, you know, when you enjoy something and then when something is taken away. When we were growing up we were just children then so we didn't know about it uh but now we are enjoying it again and I really wouldn't want it taken away,

What has been illustrated using Bourdieu's analytical concepts of the *space of possibles*, was how St Helenians have continued to migrate away from their island, even during the times that their migration was restricted. Dawn referred to Ascension Island as a 'stepping stone' and an 'outlet', and Felicity narrated how the islanders 'tap into' avenues which lead into potential opportunities. Thus, movement for St Helenians has not always been easy but something that has had to be negotiated and worked at. Subsequently, this is what they have done. Moreover, the *space of possibles* has demonstrated to the islanders that their democratic and civic rights to freedom of movement are not a birthright nor a given. Thus, the Britishness, within the *space of possibles*, can be fickle and disloyal.

Rational Choice, Emotional Structures & The Collective Destiny

For the islanders, migration is a process which each St Helenian, at some point in their life considers. Richard described migration as a 'process' whereby islanders can 'point your feet then realize is it for you'. Moreover, Pauline described how with the return of British citizenship the process was 'completely random' because she would have taken a job either on The Falklands, Ascension or the UK. By coincidence, it was the UK that came up first and she confirmed that she loved it. Derek used the metaphor of 'migrating birds' to describe how St Helenians come and go. He confirmed that some return and some do not, and this is due to a consequence of having choice. However, not all migrating birds are random but instead live predetermined trajectories. His use of the metaphor within his narrative

revealed his sense of loss and dispersal. Moreover, as Terry stated below, the choice to migrate can lead to financial and emotional structures:

Terry, 57, on-island '[Some] want to come home but can't make the payments ...who have been struggling for the last ten, fifteen years trying to make it home. Or can get home, but it's the time [factor]. And then others who went thirty or forty years ago and bury their bones over there. There are many St Helenians who, I dunno, been in England or Australia or Canada or New Zealand, and they are St Helenians but they won't come back here, they have no interest, ... then there are others who are willing to peddle backwards, they know where they came from'

Donna's story below illustrates how emotion has been the driving force behind her decision regarding migration. Moreover, migration itself created more emotions. Thus, the decision to migrate is not random, but based upon emotion and personal negotiations. Donna illustrated how she clearly made choices yet at the same time her decision was not devoid of structure. Her story is thus one of being stuck in a circumstance with a yearning to have more agency. Donna clearly yearns more opportunity, more choice and more diversity. Within her repertoire she makes constant reference to an inside-versus-outside metaphor, and actually states that the island can make you feel 'trapped'. Like many other islanders within their stories, she refers to the ship as a symbol of escape to the 'outside world':

Donna, 36, off-island no I was ready, because I had come to Cheltenham in 96 and when I went back I felt my eyes had been opened to how isolated the island was, and I wasn't happy there after I went back, I really needed to get off again, I was ready ... its all sorts of things, the fact that there's a shortage of food sometimes, fresh fruit, its just frustrating, umm, the fact that it takes so much money to get off for a short holiday, you know you get two weeks but you can't go anywhere you are stuck so, lack of access, you know regular access to the outside world, the cost of it, food and the shortage of food, being here and suddenly realising you know how in abundance it is, to get fresh food and choices of food and things, I just couldn't live with it anymore, because I knew the difference it was frustrating. I felt trapped in a way actually,

especially when the ship would leave, that was it you're cut off instantly. Actually going back home, I was going back to get married and I got so depressed cause I could suddenly see the way my life was turning out in front of me and it's the life that the majority of St Helenians have you know, you grow up, you meet someone, and you sort of settle down with them and you stay there. Some of them just don't come off and they don't do anything different, and I can see the flags panning out in front of me and thought this is not what I want. I think, I will never be able to save up enough money to get off because I was uum bonded for four years and the thought of being, four years sort of bonded like that, it was you know depressing, it was not good at all

Similar to the characters in *Sentimental Education* who negotiate their lives through interactions, relationships, competition, conflict, coincidences and fortunateness (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 150), the islanders identify their possibilities. Some they choose and some they discard. Their habitus, or their 'trump card' influences their 'game' and provides the possibilities and trajectories to preserve or loose the capital they accumulate (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 150).

Bourdieu stated that agents who occupy the same social field and who experience the same shifts and trajectories, do not necessarily run in the same direction, yet 'this does not mean that their practices are not marked by the collective destiny' (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 106). An agent's destiny can be influenced by chance through meeting new people, for example. However, their destiny is governed by their habitus, which in turn governs their capital, and so in many respects 'the future, [is] already implied by [their] past' (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 151).

Donna has described how she went overseas for training in the UK whereby, like many other islanders, she accumulated cultural and symbolic capital. Afterwards, she decided she did not want to return to the island. She described how she could see her life being mapped out for her and so she made the decision to

radically shift her trajectory, from what she considered had become the inevitable. Thus, she used the agency and choices available to her in the *space of possibles*, to take control over her somewhat structured destiny, and embark on a migratory journey like so many St Helenians before her.

Donna decided to pay her bond back to the government, rather than work it off on the island. St Helenians who go overseas for training at the expense of the St Helenian Government become bonded, so the Government can ensure that they are going to return to the island for at least two years following the completion of their course. It takes two years to work off a bond, but a degree student would have to pay on average £14,000 if they chose not to return to the island. Donna thus decided to ‘pay off’ the economic structure, using the new capital she had accumulated overseas.

Since ending her relationship with her fiancé, Donna is now living in the UK with her new St Helenian partner, whom she is married to. Ironically, yet in-keeping with the St Helenian ‘collective destiny’, her ex-fiancé has also now left the island since they parted. Donna continued to describe how now settled in the UK, her husband has no intention of returning to the island to live. However, since she has had children she once more has had a change of heart. The next stage of Donna’s story illustrates further how migration is not a straight-forward linear process. Rather it is a constant negotiation of emotions and opportunities. She articulates her longings for ‘home’ and experiences of dispersal and loss. She uses the metaphor of ‘closure’ to explain her desire for a holistic sense of fulfillment, which she cannot achieve as a migrant torn between the homeland and the hostland. Within her story

of restlessness and lack of settlement she now claims she is ‘happier’. She admits her cravings for home have dwindled, but only to the extent they are ‘not as bad’ as they used to be:

Donna, 36, off-island uum, we came here [the UK] in 2001 and I took my daughter [to the island] in 2006. I got quite post-natal depression and I went home and it was the closure I needed, and when I went home I sort of realised that no, this is my home now, UK, and I have been much happier since I came back in 2004, no 2006 sorry, I came back. After I came back from taking my daughter home [to the island] I was much more settled and, then I used to get a little bit homesick, not as bad as it used to be. The night times I would dream about home and I was craving it, now I am finding I am loosing memories about home and I don't think about things too much. It's all the new things here, take over doesn't it. But then I find I will, my Mum will say someone and I think my god I forgot about them. And I've stopped going to like some of the St Helena dances and to uum Reading Sports and things, I went again this year, I don't find a need anymore to be constantly with that you know, I've got St Helenian friends around, its nice to see them and chat to em and that but I don't feel needy for that constant support anymore,

Gray (2008, p. 937) noted how Raymond Williams’ ‘structures of feelings’, and Bourdieu’s notion of habitus, can help explain how feelings form social structures and collective action. Moreover, feelings derive from and respond to structures. Some St Helenians have had to return home due to the emotional structures that have been created within their lives. Pauline, for example, stated how she had recently returned to live on the island due to her Nana’s poor health, and she claimed that although she wishes she were back in the UK ‘for all the money in the world I am not going to leave her now’. Holly similarly described how she had decided to return to the island after her Mum had been diagnosed as being seriously ill.

Like Donna, Holly is having to make important decisions regarding her future and negotiate the feelings that are currently in play for her. Holly confirmed that the next time she leaves the island she will never return and does not care if this will upset people. However, she demonstrates her uncertainty through her hesitation and the word ‘probably’. She also demonstrates the resistance she will experience from her family, as well as the resistance she will feel internally i.e. her own emotions, feelings and sense of loss. She does so through her use of the words ‘stop me’ and ‘I probably won’t look back’:

Holly, 35, on-island so I thought ok I’ll come back here, six months, see how it goes, because also in, in my heart and mind I had to answer those questions as well, do I want to come back here, will I like it here, ... have property here and settle, so I thought before I go on my worldly travel or whatever you know, maybe I should come back and answer that question first, and I’ve come back and that question’s answered, so when I go next time, I probably won’t look back here now, I know that, that will be it they won’t try to stop me because they know they can’t, I’m quite determined to do what I want to be honest, and they know I’ve spent most of my life, you know, in the UK, so there’s no chance that I will want to come back here, I think they’ve got that vibe really

Faith made the point that those working on Ascension Island or the Falkland Islands are more likely to return home after shorter periods of being away, than those living in the UK. Those on the working islands visit St Helena on a more regular basis, particularly to tend to their homes. However, it must be remembered that those working on these islands have cheap fares or even free fares home. Moreover, they have extended periods out of their contract, thus making it possible for them to return, on average, every other year. In contrast, those living in the UK are more likely to become ‘stuck’ in the UK, or as Terry phrased unable to ‘peddle backwards’, due to their employment, financial ties or emotional ties. Ben, for

example, described how his St Helenian friend's trajectory took a radical shift when he had 'an accident' with a British girl. For Ben's friend, the structures have shifted as his roots have become firmly embedded in the hostland:

Ben, 22, off-island as far as he is concerned he is staying here now for the next 18 years to see his baby grow up and, it's a strange life isn't it, it only takes one small thing to change all the plans you have made

Migration is undoubtedly an emotional journey for some. The phrase 'Transnational Families' used by Levitt (2001) does accurately describe the story of the St Helenian community, as many come and go from the island at some stage in their life, in part responding to attachments they have made on and off island. Irene described how since she has retired she is annually travelling between St Helena and the UK to visit family, but this is only a privilege she has acquired in later years. This is since she has saved her money all her working life and acquired economic capital. The transnational lifestyle however, isn't always so straight forward. Faith explained how she returned to St Helena with her children after she divorced, but one of her children has so far refused to settle with either of her parents, and has repeatedly changed her mind on whether St Helena is her home or the UK. Thus the transnational story of loss, displacement and restlessness continues through the generations.

Tania and Keith both explained the emotion and pain that St Helenians suffer. However, they both state how it is a way of life for St Helenians and they reinforce the position to be one of choice, in favour of a better life overseas. Such testimonies confirm the rational choice behind the decisions of the islanders. They also confirm

the emotional cost of this rational choice and the emotional repercussions as a consequence of their agency, thus demonstrating the juxtapositions of rational agency, feeling agency and feeling structures. Tania and Keith describe the public narratives and generic stories of the islanders. Their stories include family separation, which is eased by the knowledge that the migrant is living the St Helenian dream and the remaining community will provide support for those left behind:

Tania, 58, off-island when they are leaving home yes, but they realize they've made a choice and they have to go and, they just have to stand by it, I mean, they come out to the ship for embarkation and you know, and you've seen the tearful goodbyes that the pier has here, but you know after a day at sea then they are fine again, and I suppose everybody struggles to deal with their emotions in their own individual way, but uum, I think the youngsters look forward to going

Moreover,

Keith, 40, on-island I personally think it is a way of life, I think people have got used to it, but I think there are uum situations where people really do feel the pinch by having to separate from their relatives or their friends and so on, I mean you know, if you go down when the ship is arriving or the ship is going, you can actually see the lots of emotion there, so that almost tells you that people do feel it in a sense, and like I say before, it might be that people are hiding it I don't know, but I think generally speaking people have actually managed to cope with it, and like I said because its such a close knit community in any case people, they have got support out there you know so it is not as though uum a family member leaves and you don't have anybody else to help support you on the island

What this section has therefore illustrated, are the choices and negotiations that St Helenians make regarding leaving the island. It demonstrates the feelings that assist with their decisions making and the emotions that occur as a consequence.

This is supported by the St Helenian habitus. Moreover, it demonstrates how a collective story and a collective destiny does exist for the St Helenian community, although not one where they run in the same direction. The collective destiny is the inevitable decision regarding whether to migrate and when to migrate, and the feelings of loss and detachment that migration creates. Their individual destiny is determined by the way they each play their game, the trump cards they use and the trajectories that they choose. However, their field, habitus and capital directs them in similar directions, and the *space of possibles* limits and allows accordingly. Subsequently, their destiny is already mapped out for them. When Chris told me his personal story of how he grew up on Ascension, as did his Father and Grandfather before him, he explicitly stated that his story is ‘like all St Helenian’s stories’. Mary explains this further:

Mary, 59, off-island its not a situation, its my life's journey ... I'm very proud of being a St Helenian, I'm very, I feel honoured that I have had so many experiences afforded me, having been born on the island, no I don't begrudge it, I honour it because, yes there is just so much that I have had that has not been available to other people [non-islanders] so I feel very rich in that way, you know I am one of life's millionaires, not financially but in every other way yes, ... and I think if you asked most of the St Helenians, well I don't know whether you have spoken to any of them but they are always going that's home, whatever I ask them they say that is home, however long they live here, its home, and you say you have lived all of your life practically in this country, yes, admittedly, but its never going to be home,

Mary has not been home many decades. She explained how, regardless of where her life- journey was going to take her, her inevitable journey as an islander was always going to be one of ‘rich’ experience. According to Mary, she has thus

played her dealt ‘trump cards’ well. Nonetheless, this has been accompanied by an un-forgetting and unrelenting perspective of ‘home’.

Economic Capital

One important issue to consider is *how* or *why* the islanders cope with their decisions, their emotions and choices. *Why* do the islanders leave their homeland, *how* do they cope with life overseas and *why* do those who get left behind cope with the separation. In other words, what are the rewards. Faith offers an insight:

Faith, 46, on-island people, in a sense do like to see their children go overseas because they want them to progress, they want them to succeed they want them to have opportunities and a better lifestyle, uum, and that is what they see, overseas, but uum, I think it is very difficult for them. I mean I remember growing up, my sister was overseas, my brother on Ascension, and we would be, you know, so so looking forward to just times when they would come home. For my children, from my own personal experience, I would like nothing more now, than to have a home where all three of them could be

Faith explained how for the islanders, migration is about bettering oneself. Moreover, it is an on-going process that affects each generation. For many St Helenians, building economic capital for a descent standard of living on the island and/or to build a home on the island, is often the key reason for leaving. For example, many St Helenians overseas, send money back to the builders on the island so that when they return their house is already built. Philip claimed that you can’t always see lots of ‘real’ money on the island, but you can see a rise in property.

Shifts in the *space of possibles* have enabled various migration opportunities, and this has ultimately led to changes in the habitus. For example, Edward noted

how in recent years St Helenians have progressed from a trend of squandering their money, for example in the pub, to saving for better homes or cars, and this has made the island more wealthy. Changes in the habitus however, are not only a direct result of micro changes in the attitudes and beliefs of the specific St Helenian community. Rather, changes in the habitus are due to the macro belief systems and ideologies of the wider world, as discussed in chapter 4, such as consumerism and individualism. However, whereas chapter 4 referred to consumption as a somewhat superficial symbol of success, Clive's testimony below refers to consumption as a symbol of a healthy, forward looking community. Afterall, the rise in homes being built on the island is a symbol of return and permanency for many islanders, even if at the moment they are empty or unfinished. Subsequently, there have been shifts in the habitus and shifts in the St Helenian dream, whereby islanders no longer want to squander their disposable income as a symbol of success, but instead they feel a need to invest it in their future:

Clive, 60, on-island people are making better use of their money, they are making better use of their money, they are spending their money differently. Used to be people have a drink yes, but I'll tell you now, when I first came back, we came back from Ascension every year for a holiday, and you know every penny you had you would blow it, and blow it, you know, on whatever, but you see people coming back today and no way, its, they might buy you a drink, if you twist their arm they might buy you a drink, but before days you'd buy the whole bar a drink. When we came back we were the big spenders in those days, but not anymore, in the last twenty years, no, no, no, people live much better lifestyles. They look after their money better

Receiving remittances, or 'home allotments' as some St Helenians called it, continues to form an essential part of everyday life for those living on the island. Levitt (2002) placed much emphasis on the significance of remittances in her research, and Kelly & Lusi (2006, p. 839) also noted how economic capital is often

what drives individuals through the painful experience of separation due to migration.

Geoff described how when he worked on Ascension he knew his parents did not have a pension and didn't have much money. He and his brother weren't 'compelled' to send money home. However, his parents would say how they were looking forward to receiving a remittance each month. Ellie stated how one of her friends continues to send money home, and Marcus described how in the twenty-first century remittances are now sent electronically. Thus, the companies that many St Helenians work for, such as SERCO and SODEXO, send the islanders' remittances direct to their families' bank accounts on island.

Clive described how remittances continue to be an essential part of the island's economy. The older and younger generations who are left behind, particularly benefit from the money, cars and gifts that are sent back. Clive's testimony thus shifts the island's economic status from one of an official reliance on the mother country, to an unofficial reliance from within the St Helenian community itself. Clive explicitly noted how the relationships between parents and their children may be weakened due to distance. Nonetheless his narrative demonstrates a sense of return, a sense of looking inward and home looking, and a sense of empowerment from within the community:

Clive, 60, on-island without that family connection and the remittances from overseas, the island's economy would be in dire straits. Oh I tell you now, the income from remittances from family overseas to family over here, they can't put a figure on it, but we guess anything near five million, oh yes. That's a guess, but an awful lot of money comes in in remittances, from the folks. And you know all the cars coming now, that's not coming from the people here, that's coming from the children

overseas, they go away, they leave their children for the Grandparents to bring up, and you know, mum and dad they can't take the kids for a walk so they send them a car, and then they drive then around in the car, the kids are far happier. But the income is not coming from St Helena, not by a long shot, the income is coming from the workers off shore, and they are sending the cars for the parents to use, while they are offshore, and when they come home their vehicles are already there, it makes sense, because vehicles are cheap in the UK at the moment, that's where all the vehicles come from, the remittances are colossal

What remittances illustrate is that although in many respects the island is dependent upon the UK, the islanders themselves are clearly and willingly contributing to the economy and standard of living in their homeland. This is because of the feelings and emotions they have about life on the island, and that they care about their island community. However, economic capital is not the only 'ingredient' required for a prosperous St Helenian community. Symbolic and cultural capital are also important (Jameson, 2009, p. 7-8).

Cultural & Symbolic Capital for a life overseas

Bourdieu (2010, p. xv) stated that 'for it is certain that on each side of the Channel or the Atlantic some things are compatible, others are not'. Indeed, St Helena is in the South Atlantic and its mainland, the UK, is in the North Atlantic. These two diverse and distant geographical places have been attached to each other for over five hundred years. Thus, to varying degrees, 'compatibility' and knowledge of the other, has converted into cultural capital both on and off the island. Levitt (2001, p. 11) referred to this as social remittances whereby values, ideas and strategies travel from the hostland to the homeland, and vice versa, through transnational practices.

As discussed in chapter 4, the links between the mother country and the Island have contributed to the hailing of the islanders into their Britishness and their desire to migrate. However, the links have also transferred into cultural capital, such as British mainland cultural knowledge and cultural competence. Tania, for example, described how on St Helena her father used to work with British experts coming over to work at the radio station, and so she used to play and socialise regularly with British children. Similarly, Donna noted how when she was growing up on the island her father obtained some cultural capital of Britishness due to working on the ship. Thus, her father not only passed the cultural capital down to her, but this cultural capital transferred into symbolic capital, status and prestige. She described how she was 'pushed up' the social ladder through the cultural capital and symbolic capital accumulated:

Donna, 36, off-island when dad came home ... we would go to school with shiny pens and every half term we would have a new ruck sack and things, I remember I had the first tin lunch box and new dresses and things like that and we knew when he was coming. We would run home cause he would have Quality Streets and things like that. At Christmas we would get candied fruit and things from Cape Town and lots of things, cause that wasn't on the island but because he worked on the ship, and we were considered in the community as being well off, cause he worked on the ship, so it was like we were pushed up a bit

St Helenians therefore, are perhaps more advantaged than other cultural groups migrating to the UK because they have a pre-existing sense of British cultural capital before they migrate. Whilst on island they have been embedded within a habitus that in many respects relies upon a sense of Britishness and has been formed alongside a strong British influence. However, some St Helenians were exposed to more British cultural capital when growing up than others.

Donna's story continues with how life in the UK originally shocked and frightened her. However, after a short space of time she learnt to adapt to the new lifestyle and it was not long before she was driving herself forward. Her story of awe, intimidation and isolation, due to being a small islander in a big city, soon became one of empowerment, new horizons and anonymity. Her mother was clearly aware that her daughter needed a 'rough talking' to, to remind her of her hailed British identity and migrant identity whilst on island. Moreover, this gave her the starting point she required. She then started to draw upon her knowledge and resources of cultural capital. She soon realized her potential, to succeed in the hostland:

Donna, 36, off-island I remember walking past House of Fraser and I had my nose against the window and this shop just went on and on and on, and House of Fraser now is tiny cause I've been to London and seen bigger places, I've been to Paris and traveled and that, but that was huge and there was all these things, and that night we were coming back from the pub and from a friends house, and people were coming out and I felt so threatened, I thought they were going to come and attack me because they were so loud and you know, it was just really weird and I was just so upset and I phoned my mum up and she said look just pull yourself together she said, its ridiculous she said, you came all that way she said, now just get used to it, she didn't say oh don't worry you'll be fine, she just gave me a rough talking and she said you'll be fine in the morning, and it did help and slowly I just sort of got used to everything, I can remember like the first weekend I got here I went to London on my own on a coach to see my uncle and you know, I think that helps and then I said to myself wow I'm here and no-one else knows like you know, I'm in London and I felt grown up for once, I was 23 and I just felt I had grow up instantly, it was just amazing, and the next thing, Christmas, I flew myself to Ireland for Christmas, yes, I suddenly made all these huge decisions you know and there was all these things like uum, suddenly I had a bank account and you know a card to use, I was here

Within their interviews, several St Helenians described how they quickly had to drop specific St Helenian traits and practices in favour of British ones. For example, Mary

described how in the 1960s she did some ‘strange things’ but she modified her practices due to her own personal drive and ambition to cope in the UK. Similar to Donna her story starts as one of awe, intimidation and isolation, due to arriving as an islander in a big place. However, after a period of adjustment and a realignment of the habitus through learning new cultural capital and drawing upon existing cultural capital, her story also becomes one of empowerment, new horizons and climbing a social ladder:

Mary, 59, off-island you arrive in this big place, everything is just so different, you're alone ... I mean I did some strange things i.e. I recall living in Southampton and, a lilo, so I went swimming one day, and at home the idea was that you put your towel on your head and you walk home you know, bathing suit and all, and there was me walking down the high street in a bikini and a friend of mine said, well, they were quite amazed that I wasn't arrested for indecent exposure, well I didn't know, trotted along like I was at home, so yes and that has been it really and I stayed and moved from job to job uum, you know climbing the ladder slowly as it were, so eventually I ended up in office management, uum it was quite tough then, I was a bit of a go getter, I pushed myself

Thus, the cultural capital accumulated on the British island of St Helena does not exactly match the necessary cultural capital required for a life in the UK, but it is by no means ‘foreign’. Moreover, as a consequence of increasing transnational lifestyles and social remittances between the island and the mainland, shifts have occurred within the habitus, and the styles, values and attitudes on island have shifted closer to the practices of the UK. Thus, the lived realities of the migrants and non-migrants become intertwined and interdependent. Derek provided the example of how the tradition on island for St Helenians to wave to everybody has dwindled, as a consequence of migrants returning home with new practices:

Derek, 63, on-island well I mean, things rub off, from where you come from eh, you know, you live in the UK for forty years, when you come to St Helena, yes I'll speak to somebody I know and that's about it, I won't be putting my hand up to people I don't know cause I don't know em, you know

Transnational cultural capital and social remittances have been accumulating on the island at an accelerated pace over the past fifteen years. This is a consequence of: a new wave of migration since 2002; a new all-inclusive grammar school system which replaced a selective grammar school in the 1990s; and the arrival of television on the island in 1998 and internet in 2001. This has also created shifts within the habitus, through shifts in the *space of possibles*. Clive explained how since he was a boy the education system on the island has improved 'ten fold'. Moreover, Keith explained how compared to when he was a boy, the children are more aware of current affairs and global phenomenon.

In an attempt to illustrate the difference between those with cultural capital compared to those without, and also how such cultural capital can transfer overseas, Clive argued that a St Helenian who had been poorly educated would be terrified if they were put in the middle of London, or shown a real-life aeroplane. In comparison, he argued, those with reasonable academic ability would not be. This illustrates how the symbolic capital accumulated through academia can be used to accumulate more cultural capital. He also gave the example of the cultural capital his Grandsons accumulated through the experience of going to South Africa for a holiday. He stated this was not an opportunity available to him when he was a child, nor most islanders, due to a lack of economic capital for his generation.

Clive argued that this new access to cultural capital will prepare the younger generation for the life overseas, they will probably choose for themselves. Possibly, the islanders do choose a life overseas through rational choice, or possibly they are continuing to be hailed through the new forms of institutional state apparatus on the island. Regardless, Clive believed improved education and technology to be good for the island as it provides the vehicle and capital for more ‘opportunity’. Moreover it empowers the islanders and as a consequence of shifts in the *space of possibles*, and shifts in the habitus, the islanders have become more ‘demanding’:

Clive, 60, on-island well I think that uh, people are better educated today than uh previously, and there's more opportunity, uh and I think that people, the younger generation, commencing with the middle aged people are demanding a better lifestyle ... I took my Grandsons to Cape Town a couple of months back, eight years old, when they come back it's tremendous what it does to the child's brain, absolutely, I mean you grow up here you haven't seen a train, airplane, I took him to the airport, you know, just to see an airplane coming and going you know like motorcars, its, it would be good for the island

Many St Helenians moreover, have illustrated their desire to migrate for either more academic qualifications for themselves, or more qualifications for their children. St Helenians move overseas for multiple reasons, and Geoff and his wife, for example, decided to come to the UK not only to save for their house on the island but also to educate their son in the UK. Geoff explained that he and his wife needed a break from the island so he referred to their time in the UK as a ‘working holiday ... benefiting my son’.

Through changes in the *space of possibles* such as a relatively new on-island education, recent access to a British education and the rise in Information and Communication Technologies on the island, St Helenians have become, in some respects, more empowered. Ruby, for example, noted how the rise of information

and communication technologies, such as the internet and Skype, has changed the island and she confirmed that this has accelerated the opportunity for the homeland and hostland to come together. She gave the example of how it is now easier to stay in touch with the island, compared to the 1970s when she only phoned home at Christmas and the rest of the year relied upon letter writing. Ruby is now in communication with the island on a weekly basis and she claimed this has helped alleviate her guilt regarding the distance between her and her family. Not only are technologies in the *space of new possibles* subsequently creating shifts within the habitus, they are also providing new forms of cultural capital for those on island, as well as providing new opportunities for those overseas trying to retain links with the island. Thus, in many ways, new forms of agency are being established and practiced on the island.

Negotiating Symbolic Capital, Economic Capital and Symbolic Violence

One area where St Helenians have clearly utilized the cultural capital of employment and status available to them, is through domestic work, in other words, their links with the British upper classes. Although in chapter 4, domestic work was described as subordinate and degrading, the St Helenian stories often offered an alternative explanation, due to their experiences either during or after their service. For example, Lisa had been in the country since the 1950s and during her interview she referred to her friends ‘the Doctor’ and ‘the Doctor’s Wife’. It transpired they had been her employees, and after she retired they bought her a house and she continues to socialize with them on occasion.

Elsa described how since the 1950s, the islanders, particularly the young girls, have obtained employment with aristocrats, relations of The Queen (now the Queen Mother), Gentlemen, Dukes and Earls, Dukes and Duchesses. For example, Avril arrived in her teens and has been in the UK since the 1960s. She recalled the enriching experiences she obtained through being a domestic. Her story illustrates how migration for St Helenians can be one of 'trial and error', of rational choice and emotional costs, of homesickness and restlessness. Moreover, migration is about finding ones own personal trajectory after negotiating the material and feelings structures, as well as rational choice calculus and feelings agency:

Avril, 60, off-island I signed a contract to stay with the family for two years, but, in the meantime ... I was like really homesick ... I thought I will stick it out for two years, [but] I was so upset ... they were a family from London and they lived in Devonshire so my friend and I, we were there, we lived in, and uum, we, you know it was like just doing things like cooking and what have you ... I thought it wasn't quite like what they told us it would be, so uum, so I was quite disappointed ... I mean they have their shooting and everything, so we did all that ... it was an experience I suppose if, would I do it again, it was an experience and uum because you know when you come to a huge place like this you don't want to be out there on your own really. At least we were with a family which I think uum, you know for a 17 year old that was a good thing, ... I felt for me it was all work and no play, it was just work, work, work ... I didn't actually like my first two years in England, I didn't ... I went back to the island and then I got restless after being here, so I got very restless ... I did actually come back, but then I was totally happy, it was the best thing, ... the family they were brilliant and it was so different to, everything, she, I mean they had uum they would go off [for weekends] and we could stay in the house and it was run so different, we went to Ireland with them, and everywhere with them, and it was totally different, and like we were chauffer driven, if we went up to London, we would have the chauffer take us and we were chauffer driven and everything was so different, I think I enjoyed those two years

Because Avril was considered a good employee, she recalled how her employer could not understand why she left the domestic service to go into retail.

However, Avril became a manager very quickly in the retail trade and the ‘rest is history’ she remarked. However, during her low status domestic work, Avril would have undoubtedly accrued some useful symbolic and linguistic capital such as mannerisms, etiquette, appropriate speech, as well as knowledge and confidence for when in particular social settings. She could not have accrued such capital of this kind on island, particularly as she left when she was 17. At least three of the respondents I interviewed had established long-term successful careers in the UK after working for several years as a domestic. Their refined accents, dress sense, mannerisms, confidence and obvious economic affluence, can probably be somewhat attributed to the symbolic capital they accrued during their years that they worked for the British upper classes and aristocracy.

One communal way that the islanders provide support and capital whilst in the UK, or even on Ascension or the Falklands, is by helping each other find employment. Both Carol and Lisa explained how it was their relatives who were already in domestic work, who encouraged their employers to recruit Carol and Lisa specifically, rather than any St Helenian who had applied for a domestic post. Kelly & Lusi (2006, p. 841) made the point that past immigrant literature has tended to assume that immigrants seek support from other immigrants once in the host country, and such immigrants can often be strangers of the same nationality. However, Kelly & Lusi argued that friends or family, as opposed to strangers, are more likely to come together and provide social capital through pre-established networks. Therefore, they argued that cultural and social capital is formed in the homeland rather than found in the host land.

According to Kelly & Lusi (2006, p. 843) however, such networking can actually be to the detriment of the immigrant, who follows in the same low-paid and low-status trends of their predecessors. They gave the example that Filipinos have been stereotyped as caring and domesticated, and this has provided plenty of access to jobs in the nursing and health professions. However, this has limited their access to other forms of higher-status employment. Indeed, the stereotypes associated with the St Helenian community, as created by the tradition of the low status domestic work, have become part of the public narratives that St Helenians often inflect with a sense of pride. For example, Carol proudly noted how her employer always employs St Helenians as domestics. 'She said because they are trustworthy, loyal and hard working'. Subsequently, the St Helenians are hailed into exploitation and subordination, due to the positive narratives that hail them to their detriment. Due to their distinction and an understanding of their own culture, their complicity and acceptance to be treated as inferior, their position has been justified as a natural order. Thus, they inflict symbolic violence upon themselves and others from their own community.

Even though St Helenians now have the right of abode, as well as the right to obtain any form of employment, like any other British citizen, there are many St Helenians who continue to work in domestic posts. Carol worked as a domestic at the time of her interview. I had the privilege of the tour around the Court she worked in. I saw portraits of her employer's family ancestors, photographs of their sons currently at Eton, the stables, antiques, lakes, and countless bedrooms. Whilst on the tour, Carol described how she took the job as it provided instant security, a home and a community environment. In many ways she liked her job, but she did not like

having to cook for large dinner parties, nor the way she was sometimes spoken to, nor (as stated in chapter 4) picking up the soiled underwear off her employer's bedroom floor.

Many St Helenians appear to accept this order of things as natural because 'those with the least amount of capital tend to be less ambitious, and more 'satisfied' with their lot' (Webb et al., 2002, p. 23). The St Helenians are used to a low status in comparison to ex-pats on the island, as well as a low income on the island. Thus, any increase in wage is, for some St Helenians, deemed a triumph. Jim, for example, is a cleaner in the UK and he misrecognises his new low-paid British wage as a triumph:

Jim, 49, off-island England to me, well it's a great place you know, and I am here making shit loads of money, more than Grace making back home, and she is the Head of Department you know, but I mean, I do a fair amount of work for it, it aint like you can sit down for your money,

It could be argued that those denied access to capital on the island, are those more likely to seek low status positions when in the UK. Indeed, narratives of class and higher status supported some of the 'success stories' of the islanders. This would support the findings of Smith (2006) who clarified why some Nigerian migrants become successful and why others fall into the trap of misrecognition and symbolic violence. He claimed some become deprived of their life chances due to their initial lack of an economic position, which manifests itself in a lack of a need, lack of desire or lack of imagination. Smith's use of migrant's stories illustrated how those who had 'made it' and had become incredibly economically successful in the hostland, perceived their trajectory to be unique and a triumph as they are out of the ordinary from the majority of those in their home culture. However, Smith (2006, p.

56) argued that for the migrants from Nigeria, their destiny was actually predestined for them through their atypical access to capital whilst they were growing up.

It should not be forgotten, however, that for those St Helenians who have come to the UK to earn money for a more prosperous life back on the island, or for building their home on the island, symbolic violence in the UK is dismissed in light of their improved economic and symbolic capital status when they return to the island. They know that when they return to their homeland, they will have their own success story and thus will be able to say they have 'made it' regardless of their economic position and social status when in the hostland. Similar to Jim, Carol knew she would remain in low paid, low status domestic work until she returned to the island. However, unlike Avril, Carol would never convert the mannerisms, etiquette and appropriate speech that she had learnt whilst a domestic, into symbolic and linguistic capital that would only be of use in the UK. Nonetheless, Carol's newly acquired economic capital has enabled her to buy the home she was renting from the St Helenian Government in less than five years. Her economic capital will no doubt convert into symbolic capital and status when back on the island. Thus, migration and transnational lifestyles are one of juxtapositions, negotiations and a rational choice that is based upon the structures that the islanders are embedded within.

Cultural Capital & the St Helenian Diaspora

As stated above, symbolic capital refers to status and power. Cultural capital however, includes the cultural knowledge and cultural competence that provides the ability to decode cultural meaning, as taught by family, education and other

institutions. Janet described how when she decided to move to the UK, she contacted a cousin already living within the UK. Janet narrated how her cousin supported her with cultural capital. Her cousin was self-employed and helped Janet get a visa by writing letters confirming she would give her cousin a job. Moreover, like many St Helenians, her cousin also supported Janet through finding her and her family a flat to live, close to all the amenities she knew her cousin would need. Through working within the Cheltenham Link Office I am aware that when St Helenians move to the UK they prefer a 'safe' area that is walking distance to their place of study or employment. Thus, they would rather forfeit a spacious place to live in, so long as they are 'close' and 'safe'. Janet's cousin would have known exactly what Janet and her family would want from a home. Janet has commented how since living in the UK she has helped other St Helenians find accommodation and become settled.

Ben confirmed that there is a substantial St Helenian community in the UK and that 'they all tend to all cling together'. Subsequently, the St Helenian community provide cultural capital for each other by bringing 'St Helenianness' into the UK, as a form of togetherness. Ben described how if there is a Saint living within your area then you will soon get to know about them and get in touch, even if it is someone you probably wouldn't be close to if you were on the island.

Donna described how in the UK she feels more at ease with her St Helenian friends than with her British friends. She feels she has to put more effort into her relationships with her British friends, whereas with her St Helenian friends her relationships are easier because they all have a common bond. Similarly, Ellie stated how she likes to be around St Helenian people because it is nice to be around 'your

own', and be 'close'. Ellie explained that St Helenians tend to gravitate towards each other due to an emotional attachment to their community. Even though she ironically was brought up on Ascension, and did not know any of the St Helenians she now socialises with until she actually moved to the UK, she illustrates her continued desire for St Helenianness:

Ellie, 19, off-island I think it's a sense of wanting to be around your own person because there's a sense of closeness and its like down to earth, and like people bring home cooking, an element of home cooking in, like when I go round to my family it's like let's make St Helena curry or fishcakes or whatever, so I think like people move away but they bring a sense of bringing everything they know about the culture, like the food, and the like, you get the St Helena dances in Cirencester and stuff, because people are close and that's how it has always been done

On a bi-annual basis, the RMS travels all the way to the UK, but this has been in dispute over the past couple of years. Many argue that this increases the costs of the RMS and it displaces the RMS from the island for longer periods of time, thus denying those on island access to fresh foods. Those who manage the finances on the island would prefer the RMS to stay in South Atlantic waters. Indeed one businessman on the island accused the St Helenian Government of making decisions based upon emotion, due to the islanders' attachment to the traditions and links with the UK. However, the RMS symbolises a two-way imagined connection because, not only do some islanders want to feel a connection to the UK, but some islanders in the UK want to feel a connection to the island. Donna in the UK confirmed that the RMS is a symbol of her homeland and she referred to 'touching' the island through the RMS. She feels she is visiting the island in an imagined way via the RMS:

Donna, 36, off-island I would hate to see it disappear. It would just be dreadful, just, I know we don't always go down to Weymouth but just to know its in Weymouth, its as if they have pulled a little bit of the

island close enough for us to touch in a way and when we go down its like we are going to the island almost, its like, and we even get homesick, its really weird, and you go down and they cook St Helenian dishes and have a good chat, it would be sad if they took that completely away

One popular annual gathering for the St Helenian community is the Sports Day held in Reading, known to the St Helenians as Reading Sports. Pauline commented how ‘you see half of St Helena at the Reading Sports’. Similarly, Jim estimated that he would see more people his own age at Reading Sports than he would if he returned to the island, thus illustrating the substantial size of the Diaspora. Many islanders commented on the importance of Sports days for the St Helenians, even though the islanders commented on the decline of this tradition. For example, on St Helena a Sports day always takes place on New Year’s Day and also on bank holidays.

Within her research on the Diaspora and transnationalism on the Caribbean Islands of Nevis and St Kitts, Olwig (1993) described how Sports became a tradition that emerged out of colonial English rule, which dates back to slavery in Africa. Although the sports traditions declined within the UK during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alongside English rural society, they survived in the colonies such as those in the West Indies, beyond the days of Colonial rule (Olwig, 1993, p. 204). Olwig described how Sports for the Caribbean Islands have become a symbol of continuity and togetherness. Thus, similar to Reading Sports for St Helenians, the traditions of Sports for Caribbean Islanders can be recognized at events held within the hostland, such as Leeds Carnival (Olwig, 1993, p. 184). Moreover, family members in the homeland have admitted that they keep the tradition of sports going, not because they are required on the island, but because they symbolise to returning

migrants or second generation visiting grandchildren, a sense of continuity and a sense of home (Olwig, 1993, p. 198).

Philip described Reading Sports' importance to the St Helenian community. He explained how you 'change yourself completely' when you live in the UK, but when St Helenians come together they revert back to St Helenian practices. Through acquiring British cultural capital, the St Helenian habitus would clearly have shifted. However, Reading Sports provides the St Helenian Diaspora with a safe place to revert back to the habitus of their homeland. Philip referred to a 'St Helena mentality' as he told the story of how the St Helenian Diaspora live their nostalgia at Reading Sports:

Philip, 36, on-island you probably heard of Reading Sports, uum, we all meet up once a year in the UK, ... it's hundreds, it must be, they keep giving estimates but uum, its well over a thousand, two thousand people meet up on August bank holiday, so even when we are apart for a long time we just, when we meet up we always ask, if we don't know the person we just ask who are you, who is your family. Once you establish the link that's fine, once we know who is who, we just uum, have a conversation, its not a problem. I always noticed when I went to Reading Sports how although they are in the middle of the UK, in the whole field all the cars are left unlocked, you know and its strange but we just adopt that St Helena mentality once we are altogether again and even though when we go to the St Helena dances in the UK, all your guards come down again and the children are left playing in the place. They run around freely and at the end of the night you go looking for your kids again, that sort of way, and it always fascinated me how we, we change completely to live there, but when we all got together it all just became as though we were back here again. So yes, its all part of the community, we still, if something happens to somebody on Ascension we are all concerned about it here, we you know, we send our condolences or whatever to family and friends here, for something that happens abroad, if there is a wedding or a funeral or something like that, the messages that come in from abroad, you know, take forever to read out, so its still a very strongly linked community even though we are spread apart

St Helenians clearly provide support for other St Helenians when overseas. The support may be encouraging St Helenians to adapt to overseas lifestyles and practices, or the support may be helping St Helenians retain links with their homeland. However, the purpose of this study is not to generalise and it is important to note that although many St Helenians like the close St Helenian community whilst in the UK, others aren't so keen. Jane said how she has never been to Reading Sports and does not ever want to go. Ruby commented on the 'small mindedness' of many St Helenians where everyone knows everyone else's business, and similarly Sally illustrated the assumptions that all St Helenians should be an all-embracing part of the St Helenian Diaspora. Sally uses the metaphor of penguins huddling from the cold to narrate how a substantial number of the St Helenian Diaspora stick together:

Sally, 42, off-island I just don't feel the need to be, I didn't you know, St Helena is only small, they are not the people that I would have gone out to see anyway, when I was on the island, you be polite you say hello, you have a conversation ... oh this girl was like, oh she used to annoy me back home A few years ago we went to the same party, and there she was trying to chat to me and I just thought, I wasn't trying to hold onto the grudge of what happened so many years ago, but I just thought I don't really know you so why do I want to have this great big conversation, why do I want to dance with you, you know I just thought I don't want to dance with you because she could have just been anybody really, but they, that's how some of them think you see, they think ooh, we hang around together, we are all together... I don't know why they feel that, but they do, some of them do huddle, they are like little penguins aren't they, they huddle together, like from the cold kind of thing, they all keep together,

Supporting this, Rosemary described how when travelling to the working islands, St Helenians always stick together, distinct from 'other people':

Rosemary, 50, on-island yes, even in the Falklands, even waiting in the airport in the uum, in the Falklands, it was just a little group of St Helenians sitting down and I say oh look, we are all our St Helenian people sticking to one little group, and we did, and I dunno why but we

was all in one little group eh, although we are polite to other people and we have our manners, you know, but we uuh, sit together

Clearly, not all St Helenians go in the same direction and not all St Helenians think in the same way. However, it must be noted that although Jane, Ruby and Sally narrated their detachment from the island, and in particular the community activities of the Diaspora, they do nonetheless keep in touch with the St Helenian community, both on and off the island. Moreover, although Sally's story illustrates her resentment of the expectations of the St Helenian Diaspora, it provides the testimony of the imagined link that keeps the Diaspora connected.

Even those who claimed they will probably never return to the island, illustrated their wish to retain their links with their homeland. Dawn noted how on a Sunday she listens to Saint FM, the island's radio station that is now available off island. Jim also listens to Saint FM for the country music and news on a Sunday, and Carol listens to Saint FM Saturdays and Sundays whilst she is doing her own housework. Lisa claimed she left the island over 40 years ago and so she was too young to have learnt traditional St Helenian cooking. However, when she feels like some 'home' comforts she contacts her cousin who is also in the UK, who will visit for the evening and cook a St Helenian dish for her.

British Distinction & the St Helenian Habitus

Bourdieu (2010, p. 166) determined that social identity is defined through difference. Indeed, even though many islanders inflected a sense of pride in their Britishness, the St Helenians themselves also inflected a sense of pride regarding their difference

to the British. Moreover, it is through this self-acknowledged pride, that the St Helenian habitus becomes clear. For example, although some of the islanders noted the frustrations of gossip and the stifling nature of the community, most St Helenians noted the strong community spirit. For example, Marcus confirmed there will always be someone around to give you a ‘helping hand’ and how ‘everyone knows everyone’. He compared life in the UK, where people have a ‘small concentration of friends’, to island life where all social groups and ages mix together.

James noted the large number of people who attend funerals on the island. He described how being in a small community, everyone looks after each other. James gave the example that St Helenian bus drivers don’t necessarily stick to their designated routes, but instead will go out of their way to drop people off at their door or to collect someone who has requested a lift via the community grapevine. James noted how islandness creates a particular ‘consciousness’:

James, 70, on-island me, well as I said I see myself as an islander cause I was, you know, I was brought up on an island, I uum, yes, how you think, how you think about people, its small so, you know, in fact by being brought up into an island you are relating to more people than if you were brought up in a big city, you know I, I would know first hand more than a thousand people ... that means you are always conscious of other people all the time, see, ... you don’t have a private life you see, so in that sense its uh, uum, you are making a huge adjustment, to more people than you would have to do in a large country

In contrast, Scott recalled a journey on a bus between Oxford and London in the UK, and he couldn’t understand why nobody talked to each other, something he claimed would not happen on St Helena. Many St Helenians referred to their community trait of waving to everybody in the street as something they have had to drop whilst in the UK. Moreover, many including Ellie noted how ‘if you say ‘hello’

to people [everybody] on the street like you would on St Helena, people would think you are crazy’.

Both Ellie and Dax have been frustrated when living within the UK because a night out with friends requires forward planning, which is time consuming and takes effort. Even then, when they arrive to the pub or place they are going to, they will only know those who they arrived with. This is different to both St Helena and Ascension, where someone can spontaneously decide to go to the pub and when they get there they will know the majority of people. Subsequently, many islanders commented how you can never be lonely on St Helena.

One issue that many St Helenians described as being the difference between the UK and St Helena, was the anonymity within British life. Jane described how she lived in London for a year and didn’t ever learn the names of her neighbours, and this would be unheard of on St Helena. Faith actually liked the anonymity of the UK and gave the example that if you have a row with your spouse, there are plenty of neutral places or hotels where you can go. Similarly, Dawn remembered when she first came to the UK she went to the shop in her slippers simply because no one would know her.

When working within the St Helena Link Office, one St Helenian told me that the British are boring because when they go out for a walk, all they talk about when they greet a stranger is the weather or their dog. Similarly, Edward summarised a major difference between St Helenians and people living within the UK. He described how St Helenians have an instant bond with each other, and subsequently

every interaction is based upon unspoken knowledge. In comparison, for those living in the UK, every interaction with a stranger has to be worked at. He explained the ‘difference’:

Edward, 60, off-island because the difference is, when you turn to a saint who is round about your age, he know all about your background, I know all about his background, because we grow up together so we've got a lot of things to talk about, where[as] people here is very friendly, but we don't, we not have the knowledge or nothing about them, and they don't have the knowledge and nothing about me. So when we talk day to day things you know, you can't have a real big conversation and talk about things happening ten years ago because you don't know cause the trouble with like an island thing is that you partly know everybody or know someones' family, so you know part of his background and what is going on so you know if he having it on with you or, if he is really telling the truth, what is happening to him, you know,

The lack of anonymity within the St Helenian field however, can be the vehicle whereby some St Helenians subject symbolic violence on other St Helenians, thus illustrating the social hierarchies and expectations within the St Helenian community. As stated in the Prelude to this thesis, Lawrence (2002, p. viii) noted how a person's history or family history can stick for generations. For example, due to the rising levels of migration from the island it is now easier to get a reasonable job on the island. Ben expressed his dissatisfaction with some of the ‘rough little kids’ that he went to school with, who are now being given particular jobs on island. Moreover, some St Helenians commented on how in the past it has been difficult for some St Helenians to get particular jobs on the island, because some families have used their symbolic capital, networks and higher status to ring-fence areas of employment. Geoff described how informal relationships thus influence formal relationships, and he gave the example that islanders favour those who they play golf

with, or go to parties with, or relations of theirs. Because of this, Geoff confirmed his belief that the Governor on the island should never be St Helenian:

Geoff, 47, off-island by having a local governor I don't think it would work very well because [there would] be some sort of family involved ... favouring some and not the other, ... you should always have someone from the UK, definitely ... even people like heads of departments, in running the island, you know ... if something happens there won't be any sort of cover ups

Some St Helenians thus stated how the presence of a British Governor on island is required to prevent the informal controls and hierarchies of power from within the St Helenian community. In a community that is so small and lacks anonymity, a neutral Governor is what is required to prevent favouritism and ensure equality within the island community. So on the one hand, the presence of the British on the island, can serve for some St Helenians as a form of preserving equality within the community. On the other hand, a British Governor can also become a form of symbolic violence against fellow St Helenians, whereby some islanders do not like to see other St Helenians better themselves, or reach a high status, as Anna noted:

Anna, 28, on-island nobody like to see anybody do well you see, I think if there was a Saint Governor of any sort there would be mutiny (laughs)

Some St Helenians described how their fellow St Helenians had subjected them to symbolic violence because they have changed since they migrated. Amelia described her friend's sense of displacement. Her friend believes that she no longer fits in on the island and she perceives the islanders now consider her too English. At the same time, her friend perceives that the British consider her to be too foreign.

Adapting to the traits and practices of the hostland can cause tension for both the islander who has been overseas, and the islanders who remain on island.

Noivo (2002, p. 264), for example, noted the paradoxical attitudes to some members of the Portuguese Diaspora, whereby they were referred to as deviants if they didn't go home to visit family, yet were treated as 'others' and 'foreigners' when they did visit home. One interviewee in his research described how she is treated better in her homeland if she pretends she is a tourist, than if she admits to fellow Portuguese strangers that she is a Portuguese citizen, albeit with a Canadian accent (Noivo, 2002, p. 268). Thus Noivo (2002, p. 268) notes the social exclusion, marginalisation and stigma, as well as the contradictions of 'identity, membership and belongingness' (2002, p. 264).

Similarly, Holly commented on how she has experienced resistance from her St Helenian community against her new 'British' mannerisms. She narrates how she wishes to demonstrate her acquired symbolic and cultural capital through engaging in new interests on the island. However, in retaliation, some St Helenians on island symbolically demonstrate that she has lost her St Helenianness:

Holly, 35, on-island I've been in the UK for 15 years and all I want to do is talk about other things you know, worldly things you know. If I want to talk about sports or whatever, they are not interested and so, and then they think I am being what they call stuck up, or snobbish, I am trying to be like an ex-pat, but uum, I'm not, it's not that, its just that I haven't got anything in common anymore and their petty conversations doesn't interest me because, obviously, I've been away in the UK and I've travelled a bit, I've become more knowledgeable so obviously I'm going to speak of more knowledgeable things or more interesting things, and uum, so it's hard to become a bit of the community, although I do try I mean, I joined the conservation group and I'm trying to get lots of St Helenians to

come on these walks we do and check out the endemics and see how much we got to offer and what we doing, but no they don't want to know because its an ex-pat thing, the walking and all of this, you know, its an ex-pat thing someone told me straight to my face, I'm not a proper St Helenian any more, and that came from a St Helenian, and a lot of St Helenians tell me that I'm not a Saint anymore

Within the St Helenian community, there are clearly members who are trying to fix the habitus and fix the social field, thus preventing social change. Britishness within the St Helenian habitus thus has the paradoxical position of being a symbol of capital yet at the same time a symbol of the threat of dissolving St Helenianness. Subsequently, the St Helenian habitus is one that negotiates the subtle adoption of, and resistance to Britishness.

In some respects however, the anxieties associated with retaining a strong sense of St Helenianness, when up against change as a consequence of a new wave of migration and transnationalism, have backfired. Joanna explained how new immigration laws have been put in place on the island in an attempt to prevent rich ex-pats buying the property on the island. However, the laws have created a massive concern for the island community as they have enabled those born on the island to have the ability to purchase property, regardless of the nationality of their parents. In contrast, St Helenian children born overseas to St Helenian parents no longer have any rights. This mirrors the *jus soli* and *jus sanguine* principles of the 1981 British Nationality Act, as explained in the Prelude to this thesis, which was also to the detriment of the St Helenian population.

As a consequence of the anxiety brought about by the new laws, a new term has arisen on island; that of a 'true Saint'. Terry claimed how he is not considered a

‘true Saint’ himself even though his ancestors are St Helenian and his family have a history on the island. As stated in chapter 2, Cohen (1987, p. 16) argued that ‘the symbolic character of the boundary – its location in the mind – often accounts for its invisibility to outsiders’. Indeed, as an outsider I perceived Terry to be a ‘true Saint’, with St Helenian physical and social characteristics. However, conversations I had with other St Helenians confirmed that Terry is not perceived by all on the island to be a ‘true Saint’. Terry claimed this is because he did not grow up on island. Moreover, he holds an affluent position on the island. Because of this he argued, the St Helenian community treat him according to his difference. This is something he finds ironic because many ‘true saints’ are born and brought up on Ascension Island. He explained the ‘difference’:

Terry, 57, on-island ‘true saint’, its about land ownership and who should be here. I know a true saint, a true saint is somebody that is born here, grows up here, goes to school here, speaks saint, goes through the whole system as a saint, has the same aspirations, the same psyche, the same way of thinking, uum, that's a true saintso the legal definition and the emotional definition are so far apart and being a saint is probably knowing at least two or three thousand people ... my mother is not a saint, I mean we have been here a lifetime, we will be buried here, but it doesn't mean we are a saint, a saint is being a saint, its not something you can join into, you are or you are not, any more than I could become a Muslim, ... no, I mean, sure, but, I think probably one should ask somebody who is considered to be a true saint, the ‘saintness’ of other people on the island, saintness, because what you consider yourself to be, it's how other people perceive you really

Terry referred to the ‘psyche’ of a ‘true saint’. The social psychology of the islanders has been discussed in chapter 4 through the analytical framework of Althusser. The social psychology of the islanders will be addressed again within chapter 6 through the analytical framework of Bakhtin. Using a Bourdieun analytical framework, Terry does not comply with being a ‘true saint’. Although he does have

St Helenian lineage, his British upbringing and his ways of thinking are not embedded within the St Helenian habitus, and this is what forms the distinction between himself and the other islanders.

Agency, Emotion and Feeling Structures

As stated at the beginning of chapter 1, James questioned how this longstanding ‘fractured society’, whereby thousands of the workforce are currently away from home, has ‘arrive[ed] where we are now’. The previous section highlighted some of the symbolic violence that St Helenians subject upon each other. However, the feelings, emotions and sense of loyalty that the islanders have for their community should not be underestimated.

Derek narrated why he loves the island. Using the metaphor of the ‘rat race’ he described the laidbackness of the island. Distinguishing between the inside and the outside, Derek narrates a story of tranquility and utopia, detached from a fast paced, crime-ridden world. Moreover, it is the tranquil protectedness of inside, in contrast to the outside, which pulls the islanders back home:

Derek, 63, on-island well, what I love about my home, because there are things in the outside world that I just don’t like you see, you know, I mean I wake up in the morning and I don’t have to rush to get on that track, I don’t have to rush to get on that train, I don’t have to watch outside for somebody going to mug me and stuff like that and at this point in time, things could come to that, but you know, the outside world is just not my scene eh, you know, and that’s why when most people go away, they come here to settle eh, its to get away from that, the hassle, the rat race and stuff

Ruby described how even though it costs a lot of money to return to the island for even a holiday, she feels emotionally compelled to go 'home'. Ruby thus described her rational choice calculus against her feeling structures. The debt she accrues each time increases, and the last time she went home it cost her a loss of wages because she is self employed, additional wages to her employees to cover her shifts, and eight thousand pounds in travel expenses. Within her story of yearning, she narrates how her homesickness, i.e. her feelings and emotions, affects her psychologically and emotionally, so she just has to go. Moreover, she continues this sense of attachment to her own children whom she hails into St Helenianness:

Ruby, 44, off-island I love St Helena and I love, I'm one of the few people who cry probably once a week, if not once a month, sort of remembers home and I remember it every day, I never forget it and I don't let my kids forget it, uum I know some people here say they can't they can't go home and stuff like that, I would make myself go home, ... every 4 years I get into such a hellish mood that I have to go and so I book my passage, we all go,

Transnational families can experience emotional and painful experiences, and indeed, many St Helenians who have settled elsewhere, appreciate that the return to the island will be an extremely painful experience, but it is something they must do. Their structure of feelings compels them to go. The painful continuation of attachment, juxtaposed with loss, is one that forms the St Helenian life cycle and one of the generic St Helenian stories. Donna explained how once her work within the 'endless chain' (Althusser, 2008, p. 3) had been completed, she will return home, thus reattaching herself to the island community but detaching herself from her own children. Donna uses the history of the island as a platform to justify the community's ideological relationship to the mode of production, which has created paradoxical feelings of loss and pain:

Donna, 36, off-island yes I will retire to the island, I wouldn't want to retire here and end up in an elderly care home somewhere here, my wish is to go, then there's that wrench behind too because I know I will want to go home when I'm older but these two won't and then the whole history will replay itself again and I will be my Mum on St Helena and these two will be here, you know, I can't see them following me to St Helena, because they will eventually grow up and have their own family here, its that sad wrench ... but I know when they are older I will go

Ellie similarly claimed how although she was born on Ascension and grew up on Ascension, and moreover will probably spend most of her life in the UK, she confirmed that St Helena will always be home. She symbolically affirmed her sense of belonging to the island by stating 'if I had a choice of where I would be buried I would choose St Helena'. Sally used another bird metaphor to illustrate the behavioural trends of the islanders and how most St Helenians have the desire to go home eventually:

Sally, 42, off-island that's what they do, they come over and they sort of make their money, but they always, we like little birds I think, want to go home to roost, don't you

Agency & 'The Game'

Bourdieu used the novel *Sentimental Education* to illustrate how a person's destiny is already mapped out for them due to the capital they were brought up with. Thus, for Bourdieu, life is a game of interaction, relationships, conflict, coincidences and fortunateness. 'In this game, the trump cards are the habitus' (Bourdieu, 2009b, p. 150).

Although there are many St Helenians who wish to return home, they are not prepared to do so complacently and are using their agency to create shifts within the habitus. They are subsequently drawing upon the symbolic and cultural capital they acquired overseas as well as the social remittances and the new values, ideas and strategies that they learnt in the hostland. Joanna for example, noted the recent trend of some St Helenians in their late twenties or early thirties deciding to return home and settle on the island. However, they are renting properties on their own before they get married, rather than living with their parents. She stated how they are creating a new social scene that is specific for this age range, 'which I think is quite unique'.

'Key posts' are another example of change. This was a St Helenian Government initiative to entice the younger skilled generation back to the island, and there are approximately ten key-post positions on island. Key-posts pay more than a typical St Helenian salary and come with more perks such as free accommodation and a paid flight for a holiday. Key-posts have upset some islanders, particularly those who have spent decades 'climbing the ladder' to a managerial position, and now find a young employee on a higher salary than themselves. However, because of the key posts, Marcus stated firmly how he would never work for a local St Helenian wage again and would move overseas if that were his only option. Moreover, with the return of British Citizenship, St Helenians no longer have to officially request a sabbatical from their employment on island and obtain an education or work visa if they wish to go overseas. Instead, they can now hand in their notice and migrate on their own accord, without having to negotiate or answer to anyone.

There are thus new levels of power on the island, juxtaposed with the traditional yet remaining informal hierarchies on the island. The traditional and informal hierarchies expect islanders to behave in a particular way. However, Marcus stated how such informal hierarchies of power should no longer be tolerated:

Marcus, 26, on-island life could be difficult but then you still have to stand up to the challenge as well, that's the way I look at it, you can't be backing down for somebody because they've been here for twenty five years, they've been here for twenty five years and got good money and that's the norm, but those days have gone, I think so,

Marcus narrated what 'the game' is now for the new generations of St Helenians, and this has to be about change. He described how people who have never been off the island will be resistance to, and sceptical of change. However, he also explicitly stated that the islanders now have more choice and agency through citizenship, and with that change could and should occur. He thus demonstrates how the current generation has an awareness of how to push the island forward and into the future. Change has to take place to stop him and others from leaving. He confirmed that he was 'quite contented on St Helena, ... [but] it will improve when we get our act together'. Thus, according to Marcus, change is what is required to preserve the community and create a healthy continuation:

Marcus, 26, on-island cause now you got the choice, if you don't like it here and you don't like working under the rules here, you just go someplace else where you get what you, you get paid for what you can do, I know, some people who come off the ship and they getting, they knocking down big money and you can't really knock em for that, they take advantage of the situation when it's there, everybody else has got to step their game up, that's the way I look at it

Conclusion

At the end of chapter 4, I argued that there is more to the St Helenian society than structure and subordination. Similarly, at the start of chapter one James questioned how has this island community, which is constantly characterised by structure and rupture, continued in its dispersed yet intact and distinctive format. I thus argue it is due to the feelings of the community. The islanders negotiate their lives through interaction, relationships, conflict, coincidences and fortunateness, as according to the possibilities available to them as well as the habitus, which supports them. Thus their islander identity is formed as outward looking, and one that desires opportunity, freedom of movement and empowerment. Additionally, their islander identity is inward looking, with a strong sense of feeling and attachment to their island community. This identity formation is what forms the islanders' collective destiny as a community of transnational migrants.

Not all St Helenians have run in the same direction. However, this has not meant that they have not all lived the same collective destiny (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 118). They have lived the possibilities, trajectories, strategies and struggles that the *space of possibles* and the habitus have allowed for within the St Helenian cultural field. Thus the islanders have lived the material and psychological structures alongside agency and choice. Drawing on the Bourdieun concepts, this chapter has explored not only the islander's rational choice as allowed within the *space of possibles*, but also their feeling structures. The St Helenian community demonstrates the nuances of structure and agency through feeling. The *space of possibles* is not simply a complex web of agency, but the simultaneous effects of both agency and

structure. The St Helenian complex whole, led by a state dominated economy, has created a nuanced, juxtaposed and complicated web of feelings, which drives the rational choice and problem solving strategies.

CHAPTER 6: History, Interaction and Reproduction as Islandness

Introduction

To add one final chapter of nuance to this cultural study of islandness, I will now move on to the analytical tools of Plummer and Bakhtin. Their analytical tools offer the necessary purchase to investigate the role of collective identities and collective histories within the St Helenian community. This in turn illustrates their collective sense of resistance, continuity and movement. It is their sense of a collective community, which awards strength, power and intactness.

As per the previous analysis chapters, the narratives of the St Helenians provide the testimony of the island as well as the idiomatics and speech etiquettes of their own personal narratives. However, within this chapter I will also draw upon ‘lore stories’ which are not necessarily grounded in experience, but rather are the stories that have been handed down through generations. Thus, they hold symbolic importance for the community.

The first half of this chapter will start with Plummer’s *Sociology of Stories*. I will thus investigate the dominant, generic stories and public narratives of the island community, for an insight into the bedrock of the islanders’ collective identity and collective culture, as a ‘community of memory’ (Plummer, 1995, p. 22). I will investigate the metaphors and analogies that demonstrate how islandness is lived and understood. Moreover, I will investigate what stories are told with ease,

have a 'safe place' and what stories appear to be told with apprehension (Plummer, 1995, p. 40).

The analytical tools of Bakhtin complement the work of Plummer because for Bakhtin, language bounces between agents within a community, thus enabling knowledge, conflict and contradiction to come together through interaction (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 101). Using Bakhtin's analytical tools I will investigate the St Helenian stories and narratives for an understanding of the multiple voices that have come together to form one community voice. Drawing upon Bakhtin's concepts of monologism, polyphony and heteroglossia, I will illustrate the conflicting and contradictory voices, opinions and ideologies, which have come together and formed the islander's resources for an understanding of their selves.

Stories of Community

Erel (2007, 3.3) firmly stressed the need for biographical research within migration studies and he used the work of Plummer to illustrate how people make sense of their personal experiences and decisions. Moreover, he highlighted the use of stories as essential tools for understanding identity formation, agency, and the experiences of marginalization and inclusion, belonging and alienation. Within his research, Erel noted the 'dominant discursive regimes' he identified, such as the 'running away stories' which dominated his interviewees' migrant experiences.

Many St Helenians living overseas provided some of the generic stories and public narratives about community life on the island. This story involved the life that

they miss and a life that cannot be matched whilst living in the UK. Ben's story thus illustrates what it means to be a St Helenian. Embedded within his story of nostalgia he explained islandness and St Helenianness:

Ben, 22, off-island that's one of the things you can't do here, that's like, that's all you need, one pot a bit of food, a nice crate of beer in the boot and you go, and you stop somewhere on the side of the road, you build a little fire and you make something to eat and you, that's a party. If anyone drives past and they recognise your car then they stop and they will probably have a crate of beer and it all get bigger and bigger, and then you end up going to town and you park up on the seaside and everyone eats cold plow and you drink the rest of your beer and then that's the end of the party and you go home. That was, you always finish off the seaside don't you, you always finish on the seafront, that's just like the end of it. You go round the island, you finish on the seafront, you might meet on Rosemary Plain somewhere and you go down through Half Tree Hollow and after riding all around Blue Hill and Sandy Bay and, then you eat and you go into town and that's where you meet up with everyone, and you sort of go from car to car and boot to boot and you see what they got

However, in addition to nostalgia, such stories were also told to illustrate the routine, monotony and 'cabin fever' that the islanders feel when on St Helena. Jim described the lack of diversity and lack of spontaneity for those living on the island and he gives this as the reason for why he wanted to leave:

Jim, 49, off-island there's nothing else to do, it was like we go out driving on a Sunday and then, every Sunday we would go Hutts Gate .. Longwood, Hutts Gate, through Levelwood, Sandy Bay, down the town and back home, and the next Sunday we would go down the town, on our way to Sandy Bay and back home, you know, it was like the same, ... the same routine all the time

In Bourdieun terms, Jim is narrating the St Helenian field, habitus and *space of possibles*; the opportunities, social environment and everyday familiar routines of the islanders. Additionally, the concepts of Plummer illustrate that these mundane,

everyday, regular events have formed collective stories for the islanders. They illustrate the collective memories of island life by demonstrating what is important. For some these stories provide the justification for leaving the island. For others they provide the nostalgic memories of good times on the island, as well as a continuing sense of a collective identity. Janet, for example, described how the carefree lifestyles on the island are what defines the St Helenian personality. She related this to her son who was brought up on the island. Janet referred to *freedom* as what defines a St Helenian childhood:

Janet, 51, off-island I think those first years of his life, ... they have moulded him into a person uum that's unique to perhaps what he would have been if say I had brought him up in a bigger country where he wouldn't have had the freedom. You know, when I tell people [in the UK] uum, that I can't remember a day that I ever took him to school, I never took him to school cause he always went on his own, and his first day at school, he was picked up by his little cousin, his first day at nursery, he was three and a half, his cousin was five, and his cousin came down and uh, yes, and he came over to fetch him and they both trotted off to school together. And those things were taken for granted then, I never appreciated that, until I came here and ever parent every day has to pick their child up or drop them off, you know so uum, its all those little things which you value in life and from the island. I think yes, those are the unique things that you kind of look back at and you think yes that's how it used to be

These stories are stories of nostalgia, and they remind the islanders of their collective identities, collective memories and who they are. They are examples of public narratives, or in other words, stories that many of the islanders told within the interviews. They are thus stories that demonstrate a collective experience and the collective community consciousness. In some respects, they are stories that demonstrate St Helenianness and islandness.

Stories of Freedom, Emotion and Symbolic Interactionism

Within many of the St Helenian interviews, the word *freedom* was used not only for describing life on the island but also for when justifying why St Helenians migrate. When overseas, freedom implies more choice, opportunity and diversity. Many St Helenians stated how they only came to realize that they actually had freedom when on the island, only once they had moved away. This is similar to the findings of Lawson (2000, p. 184), who argued that host countries are often sought after due to their associated particular freedoms. However, mobility is a subjective concept and the migrant women in Lawson's research actually found their lives to be less mobile in their host country due to new burdens of childcare, domesticity and the alienation of city life.

Once migrated, the St Helenians have the opportunity to reflect on the negotiations they have made regarding their freedom. Jim used the metaphor of 'ships in the harbour', to illustrate how the alienation of life in the UK can deny St Helenians of the freedom they had taken for granted when on island. He described his friend's situation, where the negotiation of employment around childcare was new for him. Moreover, their children missed the island 'where there was more freedom running about' and so they returned to the island:

Jim, 49, off-island he say he was passing his wife like ships in a harbour you know, she coming in and he got to go out, because he couldn't get a day job cause she had a day job, so he have to look after the children, take the children to school and what not, and then when she come in from work he have to go out to work so they wasn't seeing much of one another and his daughter, so he went back home

Stories of life in the UK can become ones of disenchantment, but also one of concern for fellow islanders who embark on migration overseas in an uninformed way. Thus, the stories of alienation when in the UK, have become stories of concern, anxiety and warnings transmitted to the collective island community. The stories have become the 'voices' used to strengthen the need for support within the community. They inform the St Helenian community of the need to provide as well as utilize, in Bourdieun terms, the symbolic and cultural capital required for the transnational process:

Ben, 22, off-island like everything here is money, the minute you walk out your front door its money. If you're not earning money you cannot enjoy a good life, like the fact you will never have a happy life if you've got no money. But, back there if you've got money or not you'll still, you might not have the money tonight but you can go out and do something. There will always be like parties on or some form of entertainment and stuff, but here as soon as you walk out the front door you get in the car and that's money. I think that's what a lot of people don't realise when they come over, is how much money you actually need. You hear people say things like a grand a month, sounds good living on the island but, you'll kill that here no problem. That's nothing really, ... that's what a lot of em don't really understand,

Faith explained how she left the island when her relationship became violent. Plummer confirmed that 'there is no automatic 'safe place' in the world for stories (Plummer, 1995, p. 79) and Faith confirmed that in the 1980s she could not tell her personal story because she did not have an audience. Faith confirmed her decision to leave St Helena was not a choice, but a structure of feeling, and the necessity to leave the structure of her marriage. She narrated the contradictions of being in a small community where everybody wants to know your business, yet simultaneously no-one will listen to you. Faith's story is one of fear, escape and self-protection:

Faith, 46, on-island in the first place I went for strictly personal reasons, ... I needed time to get my head together and that was why I made a decision to go. And I know how it feels to leave your child to go, because I did that, ... I was there for a reason, uum, but if I had a choice really, I wouldn't have gone there. But it helped me, it gave me the start ... [On St Helena] I didn't receive one minute of counseling, nobody asked me if I was interested or whether I was coping, ... nobody came to see me, to check if I was coping, there was nobody ... I couldn't tell anybody, the place is too small, so you keep it all to yourself, ... if you want to be private in that respect, no chance, absolutely no chance, and I just felt that, for my own sanity, I just needed to go, everybody want to know your business ... I am telling you all this to give you some background of what you are putting up with on a small island like this, ... you need that distance, you really do need the distance. But I think as well, uum, people are, people are so close. Because its a close knit community, people are sometimes torn between the two different parties, because you will always find, there's a relation or friend of both, right through, and I've found that was what happened to me, ... he [her ex-partner] was liked by people

Faith continues that twenty years later she is now in a very different position, and in some ways, so is the island. Faith concludes that living in a small community is a communal process. Everybody knows everyone else, 'there is no hiding anything ever, so you are not only living your own life, you're living the community's life as well'. However, to a certain extent people, within a similar situation to hers can now have a voice and an audience on the island. There are now ex-pat social workers on the island who can offer a 'safe place' to tell a story, and a counsellor visits on occasion:

Faith, 46, on-island no St Helenian will go to a St Helenian counsellor, there is no way, no way, I have made my point before about the need for a counsellor here, but it has got to be an ex-pat counsellor

Twenty years later, Faith also now realizes that family members can often appear silent or distant, but this is their way of not interfering. Similar to the findings

of Skinner (2002, p. 212) Faith explained how family members within small communities, often symbolically demonstrate their respect and support through silence. Faith reflects upon her family's silence with a reciprocal respect:

Faith, 46, on-island Family probably think they are helping by not interfering, ... you know we have been through the stressful, difficult bit, my two [siblings] here never ask me about [it]. Now I know why they do it, that is their silent support... I actually find it as a sort of a silent respect and supporting

Plummer (1995, p. 12) suggests story telling to be a complex process where what is left unsaid can be as important as what is said. Ruby explained how some emotions do not need to be said because of a common understanding within the St Helenian community. Subsequently, some emotions are expressed through symbolic interaction rather than words:

Ruby, 44, off-island I was one of the younger generation in my family who was leaving the island for the first time, and uum I got in the boat and my mum said 'you wouldn't do that would you Ruby' and I said 'no mum I wouldn't ever'. It may sound stupid but I knew what she meant, basically what she meant was, you wouldn't go over there and stay over there, because girls used to leave home on domestic service but that was because they wanted to, I didn't want to, I was going because my dad said I had to, so I thought no I wouldn't do that, I wouldn't come over and uum, stay over here, didn't even think I would like England

Ruby left the island almost two decades ago. She recalled the emotion of leaving the island; whom she left behind; who were important to her on the island; and how leaving the island provided new meanings for her regarding who mattered to her. Within her narrative she noted her reflective moment as she left the island and 'looked behind':

Ruby, 44, off-island for me my Nan and my Papa [Grandparents] was the most important people in my life, I didn't even realise how much I liked my Mum and Dad because I spent up until the time of when I was 11 with my Nan and Papa, most of the time. Then my Mum and Dad said I've got to come home because I was getting too much hard work for my Nan, because I had to have a clean uniform everyday and they wouldn't let me do anything so they were doing it for me, and things like that. So like when I left the island I still think they were the two people that I just absolutely adored and loved, love didn't even come into it with my Mum and Dad at the time, because I got all the cuddles from my Nana, and uum, it was only when I left the island that I realised how much I actually loved my own Mum and Dad, it was only when I sort of looked behind and they were in the distance that I realised

Ruby recalled how she left St Helena to marry an Englishman. Her story illustrated the importance of love and marriage, as structures of feelings, within the process of migration. Ruby described how her parents did not want her to leave the island forever, yet they retracted their parental control and provided their blessing, on the condition that their daughter confirmed her love for the man overseas. Once more, Ruby described how her parents' love for her went largely unspoken, and how they expressed their love for her through their symbolic gestures such as making her wedding dress for her. Moreover, Ruby reciprocated the symbolic gesture herself by keeping her wedding dress on all night as a symbol of her love for those she left behind. She narrates this within her story:

Ruby, 44, off-island this is stupid eh, but I can't remember my Dad having any opinion about me coming back here, well I know it was mainly my Mum who said if you love him we are behind you all the way, but she said if you don't love him don't go, and that's all they said. But they say if you go back to him then we are behind you, if that's what you want. She made my wedding dress, yes, got one of the girls on the ship, ... cause they used to go on the trips with their husbands and he was one of the officers, ... anyway she brought the material and everything from Cape Town and my Mum then had two days to make my dress before I left, absolutely gorgeous, white satin and lace, pearl, you know little pearl buttons and everything. And my Dad used to go out drinking with his mates and stuff, and uum he probably drank more than ever because I was leaving the next day, I don't know, but anyway he came home 2 o'clock in the morning and asked me if I would get up and try my dress on

for him, and I remember getting up and my hair all stuck up in the air cause I'd fallen asleep you know, just to try my wedding dress on for him, before my Mum sort of got it all ready..... like them days you used to have to change out of your wedding dress into another dress for the evening but I stayed in mine like the whole day long, in fact I ripped the hem because we did the conga outside this hall that we had our wedding reception in, and uum, I tore, my heel got stuck in the lace and I had quite a big train thing, but I ripped the bottom, but I kept it on the whole day because I thought that was like my Mum you know, close to me

Plummer (1995, p. 20) suggests that storytelling informs the heart of our symbolic interactions, and stories should be understood as the joint actions that people engage in as they make sense of their history and who they are. Indeed, the stories as inflected by the St Helenians within this thesis so far have provided rich description of the island community and Diaspora. The stories have included the opportunities available, the decision-making processes, the rational choices, feeling choices and structures of material and emotional feelings. Plummer (1995, p. 4) adds that communities are full of other types of stories, such as poems, songs and tales, which also inflect the specific experiences, meaning making processes and interactions of a community.

Stories of the past: the construction of the British Subordinate 'Other'

Plummer (1983, p. 69) contested the accusation that symbolic interactionism ignores history because, he argued, personal stories are often explicitly placed within a historical context. Moreover, narratives illustrate not only a shared sense of history, but also a shared sense of community, identity and sense of belonging. This chapter will now move on and consider more public narratives within the St Helenian community, i.e. stories that were told repeatedly within the interviews, yet by

different islanders. Many of the public narratives remain in living memory within the older generations, but they were also told by the younger generations who did not experience the stories for themselves.

One story told by many islanders was that of St Helenians working on the cable ships. Robert, for example, actually remembered his Grandfather working on the cable ships for the British during the first world war, and his Grandfather used to send home remittances. Robert proudly repeated the metaphor he had learnt from his predecessors; ‘they had wooden ships and iron men’. Embedded within his story Robert confirms that migration has been a way of life for generations of St Helenians. Moreover, he provides the testimony of the hierarchies between the English Officers and St Helenian crew, in other words, the British and subordinate ‘other’:

Robert, 66, on-island well ok, my Grandfather, he went work on the cable shipin them days they had wooden ships and iron men, now they have iron ships and wooden men right, so, yes, yes, on the cable ship ... See he was in the war time, see they had to drive it. See nowadays they got computers to check for cable see, everything modern technology nowadays right, you know, you see, my grandfather he could even slash wires you know, my grandfather ... ten years he went, ten years, first time, and then he come home for two weeks break and then he went again for five years eh, you know, ...it was quite a few St Helenians, quite a few St Helenians went that time, but he had uum, English captain and they had uum English officers, you know what I mean, but they have like uum, the crew was all Saints eh,

Some of the older generation recalled the presence of the British military on the island during the wars. Eve mentioned how she used to ‘keep-house’ for a British Coronel and Clara recalled how as a child she remembered the ship, the Darkdale Ship being blown up in the harbour, during the war by the enemy. This is a story

recited by many islanders, thus illustrating that it is a story that continues to be passed on. The story serves as a reminder that the islanders' isolated geographical location does not make them exempt from global risk. Clara confirmed her belief that the mother country was there to 'protect' the islanders:

Clara, 74, on-island I remember the ship uuh, a ship being blown up in the harbour during the war, and the sky lit up and the screaming and crying, uum, I remember as a little girl the ship being blown up in the harbour, but that was the only thing I really saw of the war, we had a lot of soldiers on the island in those days, I remember that
Researcher what was that like then, I can't imagine it, were they based more
Clara you know where the hospital is now, that's where they were based ... they were here I suppose protecting us, and of course England being the mother country, everybody looked to you know, to the soldiers I suppose, to protect us

One very prominent public narrative on the island was that of 'the 100 men'. The 100 men is also a wartime story, one that has been recently re-told. Only a couple of months previous to my visit to the island, Professor Dan Yon, a St Helenian academic currently living in Canada, had visited the island and played a film he had made about his academic research on the 100 men and the St Helenian British identity. Because Dan Yon gave a public talk and has published his research (2002), his name is not anonymised within this study. Yon's research openly described how the St Helenian's were treated as 'others' by the British. Moreover, they experienced racism.

Even though Anna did not go to Professor Yon's talk herself, she retells the story, describing how the St Helenian 100 men left the island to help fill the shortage of labour in the UK after the second world war. 'Race' and ethnicity feature heavily

within this story, and Anna explicitly notes the rise of multiculturalism within the UK:

Anna, 28, on-island [in the UK] some people have never heard of St Helena, and Dan Yon he came home and he showed like his little premier of his 100 men thing and those men were like talking about when they first went in the forties and they first went, and they were like the first coloured people that the English people had seen and [a man in the film] he said that he showed his face and a little girl, she went round the back and she say mummy, mummy, there's a bushman out at the front door eh, or something like that, and I think that's quite funny, but its funny to think that was the first coloured people they saw and now there's you know, a whole mix of everybody

One of the narratives that have contributed to the narrative of the 100 men was the song that was sung at the time. The song confirmed the opinions of Tania and Keith in chapter 5, who claimed that historically, migration is a way of life for the islanders. Both Robert and George recited what they knew of the song, although similar to Anna, they did not go to Professor Yon's talk themselves, nor did they even acknowledge Professor Yon's research. Instead, they told this story of the island as though they had learnt the story first-hand:

Robert, 66, on-island see they had a song too see, 'line up boys and dry up your tears, you signed the agreement for two solid years, the seaside look pretty, the flags are around', ... that's a song see, you know, they sing that song and uh,

Yon's (2002) story has become important for the islanders. It provides meaning. This narrative is grounded in migration, the St Helenian Diaspora and national identity. Moreover, for those who choose to recite this particular part of the story, the public narrative is one of St Helenians being treated as an 'other', which has been underpinned by their Black skin.

Stories of Colour: the Construction of the ‘Other’

As stated in the Prelude to this thesis, the island has a rich history that is embedded within global trade, imperialism and colonialism. Many cultures and communities have contributed to the island’s past. In chapter 4, Jim illustrated how although he was aware of the other, non-British cultures that have contributed to the history of the island, he was adamant that they no longer contributed to the islander’s national identity. It could be argued that Clara illustrated the same through her ghost story and metanarrative below. The story illustrates how the Chinese culture was constructed as an ‘other’; one that children should not identify with, but instead remain fearful of and distance from. Clara stated her surprise that previous interviewees hadn’t told me about these well-known ghost stories. Her ghost story serves as a reminder of the island’s dreadful past:

Clara, 74, on-island Lots of ghost stories, oh yes, my Grandmother used to scare the living daylights out of us, if we wanted to go outside in the evening she would say the China man will get you. You know the place called China Lane, well that used to be a graveyard there. Well, houses were not built on there, and if we went as far as there, you’d turn round and come back just in case the China man was sitting on the grave, that’s why it was called China Lane, it was a Chinese graveyard. James hasn’t told you all this, no, they have built houses on there now (laughs)

Researcher because the island can be very spooky when the clouds come down and the fog, and it all gets a bit dark and you can’t see very far and it feels damp and

Clara have you been up to Deadwood?

Researcher yes

Clara well going from Longwood Gate, to Deadwood, they used to say that you would hear chains rattling of horses riding down there and the slaves screaming

Plummer (1995, p. 40) argued that stories help create a sense of the past through ‘history, memory and nostalgia’, which in turn helps create the stability of

the present. He argued that memories provides 'our *best stories*' as they are told repeatedly, thus illustrating what is deemed worthy of a story, who are included, the emotions that accompany the story and the community that it is embedded within them. Clara's second ghost story is an emotional reminder that the island's ancestors were treated with brutality and cruelty. Clara confirmed she intends to symbolically acknowledge the suffering of the slaves:

Clara, 74, on-island there's a lot of ghost stories, there's another one uum, during the slavery days you know, a lot of the people who were out here, and they had slaves as servants and what have you, and one night the girl who was working for them said I'll have your supper for you when you get home, and uum, when they got back, she'd cooked the baby, well, there's another ghost story for you. And apparently that's a true story, my Grandmother used to tell us that, what a thing. Well, they must have been really wicked to the girl, must have been really cruel to her, cause in those days I suppose they would lash them as well, and uum, mmm. So, I believe that story, I believe that story, but that's going way back isn't it. one day I shall go under the trees where they used to auction people, one day I shall go down there and sing that, for the slaves

Researcher do you know where that is, where are the trees?

Clara where are the trees? Where you were sitting today, that's where they used to auction, hasn't James told you that?

Researcher outside the Canister

Clara yes, they used to auction people there, under those trees

'Colour' as ethnicity, is a significant feature within the island's history and serves as a symbolic reminder of the island's dreadful past. Clara's ghost stories, for example, included the white suppressor and the non-white suppressed. Some of the islander's informed me that racism and racial distinction no longer exists on the island. Within informal conversations however, I did hear the occasional use of racist language, although supporting the work of Cross (1980, p. 89) I agree that such language was used as an act of sniggering rather than aggressive racial prejudice. Nonetheless, the island's history has proved that being 'black' had horrific

consequences and throughout the interviews some islanders did reveal an awareness that being 'black' creates a somewhat 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1981, p. 65). Some islanders tried to retain their distance from the very dark 'other' of the past:

Eve, 78, on-island I shouldn't say it but we haven't got many very dark people here now, we got people like my colour but not black, dark people you know, I think most of them die out now... poor souls they couldn't help it could they, what colour they is could eh, cause if we cut you we've got same blood eh

Elsa provided a more recent example of where colour has resulted in a tragic consequence for the islanders. She recalled the story of two St Helenian sisters as an example of how colour and distinction have created pain, fear and confusion for the islanders. Elsa described how after world war two, many islanders migrated to South Africa because times were hard on the island, but after the apartheid strengthened, many moved on to the UK. Elsa's story contains one of colour, distinction and prejudice:

Elsa, 76, on-island like I can tell you the sort of difficulties they came up against, like I have a friend who uh, I mean apartheid has a lot to do with colour isn't it, and St Helenians as you know, some of them are light skinned some of them are very dark, so all the colours, a range of colours here, but even in our families, there's still a range of colours, I mean you know some of us are dark and some of us quite light. I have a friend who went there as a nurse and she was quite light skinned, and somehow or other she was able to nurse in a white hospital with Irish girls, her sister was also there but her sister was a domestic servant, a darker skinned girl, and they weren't allowed to mix, and they were close, very close, here, and it really was most upsetting for them that they, sisters, they couldn't mix because of that sort of thing and that's why quite a lot of the St Helenians uum, left, and went to England

The stories of the St Helenians illustrate that colour of skin has mattered for the island and in the past has assisted with identity formation. Mary's story below

confirmed that stories of colour have become embedded within myth and folklore for the islanders:

Mary, 59, off-island I said mummy I said, what time was I born and she looked at me and in that peculiar way and she went oh you are silly, how do you think you got to be the colour you are, I felt quite astounded, see in her mind I wasn't born at midnight because I wasn't sort of black, I wasn't born during the daylight because I wasn't white, so I was born at sort of like twilight because I have got this café au lait, so I thought just don't ask anything else, don't ask anything else because you are just going to get the same answers, oh you are silly, but she was quite serious, so I never did get to find out what time of the day I was born, bless her

The research of Cohen (1983a, p. 24) found that St Helenians consider themselves to be British and tend to deny anything other than a British ancestry, even though they are geographically closer to other continents and their ancestry has been influenced by other cultures. Although Cohen (1983a, p. 24) quoted one of his St Helenian interviewees referring to the islanders as 'liquorice allsorts', he also discovered that an acknowledgement of slaves as the islanders' ancestors, symbolised by their very dark skin, was once repressed on the island. For example, Cohen (1983a) described how one teacher on the island had his poem read aloud by school children in 1974. His poem was about the black racial ancestry. Cohen noted the 'tears of rage' in the Governor's eyes (1983a, p. 26).

More recently, Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop's (2002, 6.11) noted similar findings to Cohen, although they did however, discover that the islanders symbolically acknowledged that some of their ancestors were slaves within the island's Quincentenary celebrations. However, within my research I found many of the St Helenian community were willing to openly discuss colour, heritage and ancestry, often without prompt. I discovered that, to a certain extent, stories of

heritage and colour are now considered to be 'safe' within the St Helenian community. They are openly being told.

As stated previously, Plummer noted that 'there is no automatic 'safe place' in the world for stories (Plummer, 1995, p. 79) and the St Helenian community in the past have clearly chosen not to embrace their rich heritage as well as been instructed not to acknowledge their rich heritage. Voloshinov (1995, p. 137) argued that for new ideological viewpoints to be accepted, existing ideologies have to be weakened. They require a merger with existing ideological viewpoints for a starting point or platform. Moreover, Bakhtin argued how by having a consciousness of others' language and culture, agents can have a consciousness of one's own language and culture. This in turn can assist with the overcoming of the closedness within one's own culture (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 7).

Drawing upon the analytical tools of Plummer and the Bakhtinian School, I argue that the islanders are no longer reluctant to discuss their non-British and dark skinned ancestry and that new stories of heritage have emerged within the community. I thus believe that since the research of Cohen (1983a), the islanders have shifted their ideological understanding of their selves and they are willing to embrace their diverse ancestry.

Stories of Colour: An Acknowledgement of the Past

Within her interview undertaken in her home, Ruby showed me a photo of herself with her brothers to illustrate how all of her family have different colour skin.

Similar to the findings of Cohen (1983a, p. 24), Ruby also referred to her family as 'liquorice allsorts'. Moreover, she proudly visually narrated the different ethnicities that have at one stage in history had a presence on the island, which in turn has contributed to her family's genetic make-up

Ruby, 44, off-island its just we're all different colours, my Nan's father is an Englishman, uum, but she was very fair, Ian was a lot darker than me, Mike was darker again ... but Ian was like uum, underneath he was like white, its only cause they work on Ascension and stuff so his hands and his face and that is all brown. ..., he's actually the darkest my brother Mike, but uum, (looks at photos) ... if you took this one picture you can see the resemblance with all of us, noses or eyes or whatever, but we were just like,... liquorice allsorts, but uum, no I think most of all we are really proud to be British, and I don't think I would want it any other way, but I know I have got uum Chinese background, cause I believe on auntie's side, my Dad's side, my aunty said that my great Grandmother's Mother was possibly a Chinese lady, because them days the Chinese uum did our water works or something, well I know my Granny, my Dad's Mum, uum, she sort of got African background, and you know by the time I discover where all of the come from we just say we like liquorice allsorts

Similarly, Adam described the richness of his personal cultural history and the knowledge he has of the island's cultural past:

Adam, 52, on-island my mama's family is from the UK, right, ... here during the Napoleonic exile see, and uh, he was a single infantry soldier, and he married Enid from the Briers, and she was uh a widow ..., that is my mum's family. And my dad's family, like I say, was my Granny Mae she was like an African, and my Dad, my Granddad, he was an illegitimate child and his father was some man from one of the American whalers, ... what used to happen was the, the slaves take the planters names eh, you know, cause we also had Chinese here, they migrated from Cantanoy, and we had Asian labour here from India and, because of the ship's company, East India ships I suppose,

Other islanders provided the 'snippets' of their racial history, even if they didn't know the whole story. Maureen, for example, stated how her father classed himself as an African because although he was St Helenian, his father had been

African. Similarly, Angela knew her Grandfather had been Norwegian; Clive knew his father came to the island 'with' the Boer prisoners of war and Ellie knew her Grandfather was a prisoner on Ascension.

Clara referred to herself as a mixture of Zulu, Chinese and Portuguese. Clara currently lives on the island but she has recently retired to the island after living for many decades in the UK. She told me how she is aware that her ancestors were South African and exiles on the island, but that her brother fiercely denies such ancestry. Clara claimed that more islanders are becoming inquisitive about their past, although there are still plenty of islanders who do not wish to know their ancestry. Like Geoff, Clara pieced together her ancestral roots through the stories handed down through the family, although she does admit that her Grandmother did inform her about her cultural ancestry. Moreover, Clara explicitly acknowledges her slave ancestry:

Clara, 74, on-island there's a lot of it in the archives, and I think most people are inquisitive, as to where they came from, I mean people came from all over, half the island, I don't know whether you know this, but half the island was slaves at one time, so a lot of people are from Africa,
Researcher but unless you researched it in the archives would you particularly know where your cultural roots were from?

Clara a lot of people don't want to know, but then again others do, and they will research where they came from or its passed down from one family to another like, they will probably say your mother was English or your father was Portuguese or something, so most things are passed down, and not writtenmy grandmother told me who my grandparents were,

Plummer stated how stories can only exist when either the narrator is ready to tell them or when an audience is ready to listen. The islander's relatively new willingness to accept their multicultural past is not necessarily a phenomenon unique to the island. The current rise of television programmes within the broadcast media

has illustrated that ancestral research has become a fashion and a trend. Story telling has progressed from print to the mass media (Plummer, 1995, p. 4) and the media has thus enabled a ‘massive speech community’ (Plummer, 1995, p. 45). Thus, it appears that St Helena is not an island ‘entire to himself’ (Donne, 1624) and it could be argued that islanders are ready to follow the global trends into embracing their not particularly pleasant past.

What many of the stories above also illustrate is that individuals and communities don’t necessarily speak the words of themselves, but instead adopt the words of others. Frank (2005, p. 966) identified the need of a Bakhtinian analysis within narrative analysis and story telling. He argued that an understanding of the dialogic process, which deconstructs notions that a person is a fixed representation of their own ideas, is required to illustrate how an individual’s story is never the full story. For example, Frank highlighted the work of Berger (2004 cited in Frank, 2005, p. 969), who argued that the ‘official’ story of HIV and AIDs is a fixed monologic story. However, the stories of HIV and AIDs ‘sufferers’ actually interweave their own personal tales of experience into the monologic medical version of the story, thus amalgamating several stories into one comprehensive tale.

Similarly, Draus’ (2004 cited in Frank, 2005, p. 970) research on patients with TB highlighted how even after their death, the stories of the deceased and others like them will be rearticulated, reinterpreted and reinvented, thus forming a continuing dialogic process. Frank therefore noted how other researchers have actually adopted a Bakhtinian analysis of the stories, without explicitly realizing or acknowledging this. Dialogics, speech genres and heteroglossia are therefore essential tools for a

contemporary understanding of the St Helenian community. This chapter will now move on to concentrate on the analytical framework of Bakhtin, for an investigation of language, history and a collective identity, which awards purchase to an understanding of reflection and change yet continuity.

The Queen's English, Speech Genres, Capital & Agency

Voloshinov argued that when a language is stripped of its history and context, it is monologic (1995, p. 121). It is an authoritative, formal form of language use whereby those who have taken ownership of it, possessed it and formalised it, have made it 'voiceless' (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 121). Supporting the Althusserian analysis which illustrated how St Helenians become 'hailed' or 'interpellated', some St Helenians recited the motto that accompanies the St Helenian flag in a monologic manner. They thus recited that the St Helenians are 'loyal and unshakable' when discussing their British identity. Similarly, as illustrated in chapter 4, many of the islanders recited The Queen, the Union Jack and the British Empire within their narratives, as the official symbols that demonstrate their British identity. Eve thus intertwined the fixed and official genres of Britishness within her rhetorical claim of a strong British identity:

Eve, 78, on-island after all we are British see lovey, we are British and uum, I say we uh, speak the British language, we sing the British anthum, we abide by the British laws, so we can't be nothing else but British see.

Bakhtin argued that England provides a good example of a monoglot language, due to the culture's insistence on using the English language in an appropriate

manner. For example, Lisa commented on how her English lingo was not very good, and Victoria explained that St Helenians on island sometimes feel intimidated when they are with an English person who speaks differently to them. Similarly, Amelia stated how she was actually being bullied at work in the UK for not speaking ‘The Queen’s English’.

Dentith (1995, p. 37) argued that people who speak a ‘broken’ or slang version of their national language will be aware of the monoglot attitude towards the language that they use. Anyone who has been corrected on the inappropriate use of ‘their’ language will also be aware of the value of alternative, stigmatised forms of speech, which they can switch in and out of, thus having the ability to communicate within formal situations as well as communicate within their ‘home’ culture (Dentith, 1995, p. 37).

Elsa for example, explained how her mother had never been off the island but somehow managed to use her agency to accumulate cultural capital. She thus learnt to switch between her St Helenian dialect to a British sounding dialect. This is something she must have learnt on island from the presence of the British military on island at the time as well as other ex-pats:

Elsa, 76, on-island because I know my mother, uh, she was very proper, but not, not everyday doing her work in the garden, cooking and looking after the children, with her friends, it was just St Helena talk you know, uum, but if she spoke to an English person it was very different, she would put on this voice, we used to tease her, you know, the children, we used to tease her, because she’d put on this voice and her English would be so perfect, you know, and we didn’t know where it came from really

Philip moreover, narrated how through ideological state apparatus he was taught how to speak a ‘proper’ version of the English language during his schooling on Ascension. He referred to this in a positive light as though it were a form of cultural capital that awarded him agency when working within the structures of Britishness:

Philip, 36, on-island growing up on Ascension we were very lucky, cause uum, you are exposed to at an early age, you have English teachers, you know British teachers all the way through the school system, and I remember from early on they always used to correct the way we spoke, always telling us, always correcting our accents and that and our pronunciations and that, ... I think I was lucky growing up on Ascension in that, here I think, a lot of people who grow up here [St Helena], there’s still like a very, there’s still like a class structure, people still look up to outsiders, people still put English people on a pedestal and they see themselves a little bit inferior to other people ... by growing up on Ascension we had a lot of English friends, we had a lot of American friends, and we travelled as well, we were able to travel abroad, so by having that exposure I think we are just a little bit more balanced, uum, I think so, uum so I don’t, I have more respect for other people but I don’t owe respect, you know

Carol described how since living in the UK she continues to speak in a St Helenian manner, although her husband has ‘successfully’ mastered a British accent. Complementing the tools of Bakhtin, Bourdieu (2009a, p. 18) claimed that speech can be a sign of wealth and capital. Similarly, drawing upon Bourdieu, Mutch (2003, p. 395) raised the point that switching between different codes or forms of capital could potentially help the subordinate break from their lower status positions. However, he referred back to Bourdieu as a reminder that individuals have their destinies mapped out for them. Thus, those who have spent decades learning new codes, often tend to forget their urgency or desire for change.

For Bakhtin (2006a, p.5) however, speech genres provide the ‘external template’ within which agents communicate. Genres can be used as a form of empowerment because the more cultured and/or knowledgeable an agent, the more speech genres an agent has to draw upon to form their interaction. Thus, Bakhtin awards agency to individual agents, but only if they are culturally and socially successful enough to draw upon a repertoire of speech genres which they can manipulate (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 80).

Citizenship: Polyphonic Language & a Cultural Negotiation

Bakhtin uses the term ‘polyphony’ to illustrate how two or more languages or ‘voices’ can be inflected within one voice. The voices remain distinctly recognisable, and are not intertwined. Thus, a polyphonic language includes separate voices within one person’s conversation, yet they are not always equal and require a ‘cultural negotiation’ (Dentith, 1995, p. 102).

Within Elsa’s story, for example, which described the beginning of the tradition of domestic work, a polyphonic language can be identified. In other words, the ‘voices’ of British officials can be heard ‘interpellating’ the St Helenian girls, and in turn the St Helenians respond. Clearly, the voices of the British military and British religious ‘officials’ are of a higher status than the St Helenians. A cultural negotiation can be heard between Elsa’s parents and the British Officials, although the British clearly won:

Elsa, 76, on-island I have had quite a lot to do with this in a small way, shall I say its because a friend and I actually started it off, after the

war, I'm talking about domestic migration now, you know, not only ladies but young men went as well, but soon after the war we had a visitor to the island, he was a Commander, a Naval Commander, and he was at Plantation House having tea with the Governor and he was very impressed with the girls there you know, the maids and that sort of thing, and he, it was just after the war and so he had his wife and his two little boys with him on, it was like a naval ship but he had them with him and he thought it would be a lovely idea if he could have a nanny from St Helena to look after his little boys on the ship and also when they went back to England. And so the Bishop was there with him and when he talked about this the Bishop said oh I know exactly where we can find someone ... I mean I won't go into the details about how difficult it was for me to persuade my parents to let me go, anyway, they did ... so soon after he returned to England, a telegram came back to say that he had jobs for two of us, ... well we weren't sure what sort of domestic work we were going to do but we went over there anyway, but we were so successful, we went over and umm, my cousin, she became an assistant cook and I, a lady's maid, lady's maid come uh housemaid, but we were so successful and people round about and all the employers friends like uh, you know, they liked St Helena girlsso we put them in touch, well it was I really who did it, put them in touch with an agent on the island, you see and it was from that, that a lot of domestic workers went to England, and they kept going in twos and threes you know, and uum, the people we worked for were uum, well aristocrats really you know, in fact like the lady was related to uum, The Queen, well I'm talking about the Queen Mother, and the gentlemen, he was related to the King actually, you know, so the, the girls who went over and the young men who went over, they were all in these big houses you know, castles and mansions

The story of the 'domestic' has a firm and rooted place in the history of the islanders and their identity as 'British' migrants. Elsa's story provides testimony of this and how the St Helenian 'domestic' has become an on-going, accepted and community tradition. Once initiated, authorised and supported by the British, it now continues to be part of the collective St Helenian identity and a public narrative on the island. Some St Helenians have evaluated it as subordinating and some have evaluated it as an opportunity. Within Elsa's story she evaluated it with pride because it connects the island to a firm sense of a British identity and secures the islanders into Britishness. Moreover, within her repertoire the negotiations between the distinct voices of the British and the St Helenians could be heard.

Bakhtin highlighted how some view collective language as a form of collective personality, collective consciousness or a psychology of a nation. He referred to this as the ‘spirit of the people’ (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 68). The spirit of the St Helenian people thus involves a careful relationship with the British. Irene explicitly illustrates this when she described how she urged the St Helenian Diaspora and friends of the island not to upset the British Government and not protest for an airport during the times of a recession:

Irene, 72, off-island they said about some St Helenians were going to march, that’s right because I was asked if I would march to Buckingham Palace ... I said please will you go back to them and say let’s put it on hold while this recession is on, nobody is going to support St Helena having an airport while the recession is on and whoever is trying to organise that, they need to think again, its not wise thinking,

James also illustrates the polyphonic hierarchical negotiations between the British and the St Helenian when he described how he was a member of the Citizenship Commission and tried to get British citizenship restored. James articulates how although he was fighting for the rights of the St Helenians, he also appreciated that he has to keep the British happy. Unlike Moore (2000, p. 3), James openly states that he, i.e. the St Helenian community, were not prepared to accuse the British of being racist. Moreover, he created the counter-position, and positioned the blame away from the British, stating how ‘we’, the island, were not prepared to be racist against the British. Even though Britain had denied the islanders their British status, James ironically confirmed the island’s ideological position as an ally of the British, and in doing so linguistically positions the British as an ally of the island. He thus refuses to articulate the island’s position as an ‘other’, and loose sight

of the imagined link between the island and the mainland. He symbolises this by refusing to use the word 'Black':

James, 70, on-island but, look, you need to give us some credit for being mature people, I tell you that, to be honest, the very fact that we didn't go down the whole race [issue], you know, cause one group contacted us in the UK and say well look, this is a racial issue, because now you are Black. They use those words, we don't like using those terms eh. Look, you didn't get it cause you are Black, see, and that's why the Gibraltarians [get it], you see what I mean. But no, all sorts of garbage gets uuh caught up in that kind of thing ... and I just felt we got tremendous respect for that, ... because we weren't being racist about the whole thing

This chapter has already briefly discussed that the way in which stories are consumed, depends upon the audience that receives them (Plummer, 1995, p. 21). Additionally, Plummer argued that stories are only told according to how comfortable the storyteller is with its audience. Indeed, the power relationship between myself (the British researcher who symbolises the British mother country) and the story telling St Helenian, was often illustrated by the polyphonic nature of the St Helenian's speech. For example, when asked what citizenship means to the island, Donna and Eve respond to me, the researcher, in a rather flat, non-evaluative manner, as though they were politely speaking to the British Government; illustrating their appreciation in an appropriate manner. Like James, they will not position themselves as in opposition to the mother county. However, within their polyphonic language there is a hint of dissatisfaction, and thus a hint of the St Helenian voice arguing with the British:

Donna, 36, off-island citizenship means a lot to us in that we will look after it and value it, we won't take it for granted, however hard it has been without it in a way

Eve, 78, on-island I am on social welfare you know, and I'm very thankful to the government for giving me some money ..., we could do with bit more, but then I can't grumble eh, I don't grumble see, I got to be thankful eh

Similarly, Zoe tried to disguise her resentment of the current British rule over the island, by speaking in a flat polyphonic tone, as if she were politely speaking directly to the British Government. She illustrated her belief that she cannot completely express herself to me the researcher, and that her response would be very different if she were speaking with a fellow islander. Subsequently, her response illustrated how some situations don't provide the 'safe' environment for particular stories of resentment to be told (or so the respondent believed) (Plummer, 1995). Moreover, her story illustrates that all utterances are 'dialogic' in the sense that the meaning can only be understood in situ, and in relation to the utterances of others (Billig, 2003, p. 214):

Zoe, 27, on-island it's a vital link that we have with uum, we wouldn't survive without it and I wouldn't deny that we could, you know, so to me, I am grateful that England has, even though they have mucked us about, I think I am sort of grateful that they continue to put so much into St Helena Government

Bakhtin therefore acknowledged the structures imposed upon a community, but also how agency can, in some situations and to varying extents, come into play through language and interaction. However, Bakhtin positions the use of language and utterance beyond the structure and agency debates that Althusser and Bourdieu concentrated on, and into the realm of the psyche and consciousness. For Bakhtin, the unconscious use of language, formed by the consciousness of an agent who understands who they are and who they belong to, is what forms the subject. As said

above in relation to the stories of Irene and James, where they carefully argued and negotiated with the British, the collective consciousness of the St Helenian people thus involves a careful relationship with the British. Subsequently, the speech of Donna, Eve, Zoe, Irene and James, not only inflect the oscillatory processes of structure and agency, but also the processes that contribute to St Helenian subject formation.

Stories of the St Helenian subject: the formation of the consciousness and community

According to Bakhtin, a person's consciousness is formed by the consciousness of the others and the community around them (2006d, p. 138). Indeed, some of the interviewees actually reflected on the social psychology of the islanders and stated how the identity of the islanders appears to have developed due to the dependency on the British motherland:

Terry, 57, on-island it will never happen, it will never be [in]dependent from the british, we had three hundred and something years of total dependency on Britain and its pretty ingrained really, its in the St Helenian psyche, somebody said, I don't see it changing really

Ellie, 19, off-island without the money they get from the commonwealth or wherever they get it from here, it wouldn't survive, it would not survive at all, and it seems like, ok they are giving St Helena money but its just like a cycle where it just goes in, it comfortably gives people the jobs they need to be able to earn the money, then it comes all the way back round by you know just paying for your food and stuff, I think half the people on St Helena don't have ambition at all

Holly, 35, on-island I think because the island has been promised so much, for so long, and nothing has happened, they've given up, so even now if you do, I mean like the airport is coming, and they said no, there's so many things that doesn't look positive in it, so they are thinking ok, so there is no airport either then

What needs to be stated at this stage is that all of the above quotes come from St Helenians reflecting upon the St Helenian community themselves. Subsequently, this demonstrates how although there are some St Helenian voices who claim to be undoubtedly British and undoubtedly content with life on the island, there are other voices who are aware of the passive nature of some islanders and have evaluated this and started to resist it. Thus, ideology flows inwards into a person, and their interpretation and understanding of that ideology is what forms the outward flow of expression (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 128). For Voloshinov, it is ideological consciousness within the individual that provides the stimulus for change.

Some St Helenians, for example, have argued how as a consequence of the history, as well as the current situation of the island, the islanders are not necessarily interpellated into their subordinate position nor unconsciously passive in characteristic. Instead the islanders are aware that they have no choice but to be subordinate, and subsequently accept their position for a means of survival and consciously behave in a way that won't upset those in power. Victor referred to the fixed monologic voice of the official St Helenian motto within his evaluation of the St Helenian subordinate situation. He questioned and evaluated whether the symbols and practices of Britishness are genuine representations of national identity or whether they are symbolic practices of acceptance. He used the metaphor of 'you don't bite the hand that is feeding you', to illustrate the community consciousness of the hierarchical and dependent relationship, between the island and the mother country:

Victor, 55, on-island we do keep up traditions here, that as you said, they don't do in Britain anymore, so they are very, what does it say on the crest, 'loyal and unshakable' eh, I think they are, they have to be

Researcher cause of the money?

Victor you don't bite the hand that is feeding you, do you, so I mean, would people be as loyal and unshakable if they were independent, if independence came tomorrow, good question, would we still have the queen's picture at home?

The multiple and existing repertoires and speech genres, which the St Helenian community have to draw upon for when reflecting upon themselves, is an indication that the community's psychological position is not fixed or static. Tania and Clive both use the example of British citizenship being taken away to highlight how new attitudes and subsequently new speech genres evolved. Thus, as the *space of possibles* changed, so did the speech genres within the habitus and so did the community consciousness. Agents as subjects, thus have to experience a shift in the habitus, and a shift in realisation of their ideological position, for their psyche and consciousness to evolve accordingly. This is a process of self-realisation, community interaction and evaluation, which takes place within language and social interaction. Clive for example, illustrates his realisation of his 'downgraded' national identity. Due to the 1981 British Nationality Act, the islander's national identity shifted and Clive's story provides testimony to how this act created a radical shift in the islander's collective sense of who they are and the community consciousness:

Tania, 58, off-island I think when it was taken away they just felt out on a limb on their own, belonged to no-where

Clive, 60, on-island well its sort of like made them feel like second class citizens, like ... you stuck on St Helena as it were, that's from a movement point of view cause there's no access, opportunity of access to the outside world. At the same time you feel that somebody has taken something away from you, that was your human right, your right, its part of you, why should they take it away, even though I can't, I don't want to

use it, or I can't get away or whatever, why should it be taken away, you know. It's sort of a like little bit downgrading, you know, like you don't mean nothing, so, you don't need that so I will take it away, you know that sort of mentality feeling that you get yeah

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, (2002, 7.3.2) quoted a St Helenian interviewee in their research, who following the return of British citizenship, said 'rather than the bastard child, we are now a member of the family again'. The interviewee was quoting a journalist who angered the St Helenian community by referring to the island as the bastard child of the UK. The interviewee is clearly arguing back and firming his position within the British community. Nonetheless, the community has realized their downgraded and illegitimate position. In 1981 they firmly heard the voice of their motherland rejecting them. As Bakhtin argued, a final resolution between the classes could never take place because 'nothing is absolutely dead' (Holquist, 2006, p. xxi). In other words, conflict can never be resolved because historical processes and actions will always remain within the memory, the current belief systems, and subsequently the zeitgeist of agents.

Stories of Change in the Community Consciousness

For Bakhtin heteroglossia, the merging of multiple voices, is something to be celebrated (Dentith, 1995, p. 38). Dynamic heteroglossic language, dialogics, whether spoken or written, provides the space for reflection, negotiation and debate. Through language and interaction some St Helenians are challenging the complacency of other St Helenians, and challenging the position that Britain has over the island. Similar to Clive, Edward illustrated a shift in realisation regarding the islander's national identity. He demonstrates this through his reflection on his

personal psychological journey. He stated how the psychology of the islanders is starting to change as the islanders engage in new experiences and break away from the official, fixed monglot voices, and the careful negotiations through polyphonic language, on the island:

Edward, 60, off-island well for me personally, by coming here [to the UK] it learns me a lot of things, you know, to ask questions about things that you don't understand or, you know, instead of saying yes sir, no sir, that way..... Because where we were so laid back there [on St Helena], we never asked questions, so what was what was what, and that's it. We didn't bother about, because we never thought about nothing else, but in later years like now, you know, that's when [we] feel, why didn't we say something, why didn't we done something, you know, we never. We never, that was the way it was I think the people who have never been off the island and don't know the difference, most probably those people [do not question things], but people who has been away and seen things in a different light [do question things]

Other St Helenians were explicitly cross with their community for being complacent and not aiming for independence. Faith, for example, explained how a feasibility study was undertaken on the island, which predicted that an airport could potentially ensure the island would not require budgetary aid by the year 2035. With many islanders doubting the building of an airport on the island, the goal for independence was not a common narrative on the island; indeed it was quite the opposite. For Faith however, it is the culture of complacency that she finds most frustrating. She wanted the airport to be a form of empowerment for the island. She noted how a key figure on the island, a counsellor, continued to expect handouts:

Faith, 46, on-island [our] culture is one [where], we have handouts and we're supported financially, uum, and I pick that up when I go out and talk to people, ..., its an expectation, and just sometimes you want to say, look hang on a second, where's the pride, ..., wouldn't it be nice to generate our own money ... When you get handouts, its whoever gives you the handouts, they have a say in what you do with it. So wouldn't it

be fantastic to be able to generate your own, you know, and I do think that, I listened to a counselor not that long ago, ... he said uum, oh, Britain will just have to give us a ship, ... I just thought he's a counselor who just expects to be given a ship, because we need a ship, its, it didn't even occur to him to say ..., we might struggle in the beginning, but if we get this right or if we generate tourism, if we bring some money in, who knows, it may take ten years down the line but we might just be able to afford our own

Faith explained how since living in the UK for a number of years she has grown the confidence to question people on the island, particularly the ex-pats who she would not have dared question before. Her story is one of a collective sense of empowerment within the community and a story of change: in the community consciousness:

Faith, 46, on-island oh absolutely, and that comes from going out into, you could call it the big world, and coming back and getting confidence on the way, studying, working, living with the people,, I wouldn't even have questioned that, I would have whispered behind their back, and said you know, how intolerable they are, but I would not have questioned their motive for anything, now I question it, uum, and you know,

Thus the multiple, conflicting and newly merging voices are bringing together new ideas and opinions, and creating a continuously evolving evaluative and reflective community. A repertoire of diverse, and opposing speech genres, are now available on island and they are the tools that the islanders can draw upon. Keith illustrated the changing and evolving St Helenian community as a consequence of newly available speech genres:

Keith, 40, on-island I think its already started to change yes, because going back to like I said before, my generation, uum when we were growing up, we never used to uum speak out or anything, and you still find that the older people, you go to meetings and like after the meeting you will hear people complaining about this and that, but they wouldn't necessarily say it in the meeting, and that is very very true of uum older

people, but I think younger people are now more confident in speaking out and so as time goes on I think that will change even more

Faith explicitly rejected the hierarchical position of the ex-pats including the Governor on the island, and she claimed she would love to see a St Helenian Governor. She explained how she does not go to every party that the Governor throws but instead will choose the occasional one. Faith acknowledged that rejecting the demands of the Governor is a new set of practices on the island. She awarded her confidence in her previous quote as being due to her experience of life overseas:

Faith, 46, on-island I really really try not to be rude and unprofessional, I weigh which one I will go to, but I tell you what, I can absolutely guarantee you, they weren't used to a no thank you very much, I can't make it

Avril's story explained how when she explicitly went against the power relations on the island she upset a lot of people; ironically the St Helenians themselves. Avril's story not only illustrated how the hierarchical power relations on the island continue to exist between the islanders and the ex-pats in positions of power, but also how some members of the St Helenian community continue to behave in a subordinate manner. She explained how by living off the island for forty years she could see that practices on the island were wrong and required challenging. Moreover, although this made her feel uncomfortable and like an outsider, her instinct told her she must challenge the power relations on the island. Avril's story is therefore an illustration of how change is a slowly evolving process that is resisted by many. She uses the metaphor of 'Fort Knox' to explain how getting past the informal controls on the island, or breaking the values within the habitus, is almost impossible. Her story is one of challenge, persistence and determination, supported

and structured by the feelings for her mother. Within her story she referred to the island as having a lack of freedom:

Avril, 60, off-island like one trip, I was at home whilst my mother was still living, and I will never forget it, and she was very ill, and I thought, I acted like I would do in England, I just called the doctor, and I got it, I got a St Helenian nurse and she said oh I'm afraid no, the doctor will not come out, if your mother is ill you bring her down to us. But I said it is impossible, she was so ill I don't want to move her, she is too ill, no I can't, I said if you could just get the doctor to pop out to see my mother I am really worried about her, and it was like trying to get through to Fort Knox. She would just not give way to anything, and she told me that you know. Cause I said things like, if this was in England this would never happen, and I probably say quite a few things that I shouldn't have, but in any case, all I was concerned about was my mother. She was so, she just couldn't breath and she needed a doctor, but I couldn't. So I was so annoyed and I was so frustrated I said right, ok then, I was on the phone, and I think I actually phoned the Governor's house ... Well what happened in the end, no, I got the doctor to come out, I did, but I was then marked on the island, this was, not that they said anything to me, but I know, I was the one, I was the person who made the fuss and she, well I made the fuss and it wasn't the thing to do. And I could see why, like my mother was saying don't make a fuss, don't call, leave it, leave it. My brother was saying you can't do it, you know, you can't do that, you can't demand someone to come. But I said my mother is ill, she is really ill and she can't get her breath and I'm worried. And so yes, there are lots of things that I would, there are lots of things that should change on the island ... there is lots of things that is not, probably not right on the island and I see it when I go out and I just don't say anything I just go along with everyone and everybody, and I just keep my mouth shut. But uum, so no , I couldn't, that's why I couldn't live on the island, I feel as if I wouldn't have the same freedom

Avril continued to explain how she knows many St Helenians who, like herself, want the attitudes and practices on the island to change, and some will oppose the community but others will not. She makes the point that in the UK it is easy to argue with people because they are strangers. In comparison, on the island everybody knows each other, and everyone so is close that it is easy to upset people. This was confirmed by Faith who claimed:

Faith, 44, on-island: I think there is a resistance to change in general ... I think like any small community who's been doing the same things for so many years, you know there will always be a resistance

Bakhtin argued how by having a consciousness of one's own language and culture, agents can have a consciousness of others' language and culture. This understanding of the foreign can then assist with the overcoming of the closedness within one's own culture, and raise questions through dialogue, dialogics and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 7). Voloshinov (1995, p. 118) thus claimed that the alien or foreign person has played an enormous role within history. There are clearly multiple voices on the island, negotiating, conflicting and pushing the boundaries of the habitus and the community consciousness. The processes of migration have undoubtedly contributed to this.

Diverse Stories: the Abstract Identity

Opinions on the island are changing as St Helenians are being exposed to a wider set of ideas, ideologies, practices and speech genres. One issue that arose within the interviews as being diverse in opinion was that of national identity. As mentioned previously, although Cohen (1983a, p. 24) found within his research that the St Helenian community tended to deny anything other than a British ancestry, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, St Helenians are becoming more accepting of their diverse heritage.

Althusser argued that all societies are an abstract empty canvas, hailed into conformity through ideology, and history becomes the platform that justifies the ideology. The Bakhtinian analytical tools, in comparison, have demonstrated how

language is the vehicle for keeping history ‘alive’ and history actively informs the ideological community consciousness (Holquist, 2006, p. xxi). Using the analytical tools of both Althusser and Bakhtin, I argue that through history, the islanders have shifted towards an ideological abstract canvas. In other words, the ideological interpellation of the St Helenian community as a British community has been weakened and has shifted towards abstractness, as a consequence of the 1981 British Nationality Act.

Elsa reluctantly noted the change between herself and the younger generations. She described the diverse voices currently existing on the island with regards to a sense of a British national identity and the meaning of Britishness, thus illustrating the dialogic evaluative processes that are taking place. Within her narrative she makes clear that some voices on the island are advocating a complete shift away from Britain and the ‘commonwealth’. She however, makes clear her firm sense of belonging with the UK. Her voice is clearly one of continuing support for the British national identity and Britishness within St Helenianness. However, she also demonstrates her sympathy with her fellow St Helenians who ‘had the difficulty’ with British citizenship. As a St Helenian who has spent most of her life in the UK, her repertoire illustrates her loyalty to the UK, yet at the same time she demonstrates empathy for her fellow islanders who feel resentment and discontent:

Elsa, 76, on-island see I’ve always had that link and its always meant a lot, but I suppose really that I am of the generation where it does mean a lot, see the youngsters now, I don’t think they have the same feeling for Britain, that uh, we have, um, and then of course I’ve never had the difficulty of not being able to go to Britain, uh, all my education has been British and I would not like to see St Helena taken over by any other nation, uum, cause I’ve heard some people say we should leave the British commonwealth and you know, but I mean, what’s the point, I

don't see, I think we should belong where we always belong, so I think the British, they have a stake here surely, but St Helenians have forgotten that,I think there is some resentment uum, they feel that Britain isn't doing enough for them, but you see, that is, here again, perhaps I'm a minority opinion, you hear people say of we should have this and we should that, but I personally feel that Britain is doing quite a lot for us, and I of course remember what it was like, and it, things have improved so much here, I wonder why sometimes that, I sort of hear the discontent,

This thesis so far, has provided many examples of how some St Helenians are adamant that they are British, and are proud to be British. To illustrate the diverse attitudes and opinions on the island, this chapter will now provide a contrast to the dominant narratives regarding a strong sense of Britishness and strong British national identity. I will now provide examples of how some St Helenians admitted that they have no sense of Britishness, or the meanings that they attach to Britain are detached from any sense of a national identity. Stella, for example, has never been overseas and she claimed that she has never perceived herself as being British. Additionally, some St Helenians claimed they do not feel British at all, yet they like being linked to Britain simply for the passport or an easily *recognised* national identity. Jane notes the distinction between her identity and my identity, even though we are both officially British. For her, a British identity is about access to travel, benefits and freedom:

Jane, 41, on-island I don't see myself as British like you would, I don't see myself as that, but British, I'd say British, why, well it is good to be British because then it enables us, like many many years you had to get visas to go this place and that place, and so you can travel a lot more freely and it just gives you those benefits

Moreover, there were some St Helenians who liked being a British Overseas Territory due to a sense of belonging to a superpower, and the subsequent status and material advantages that brings:

Marcus, 26, on-island it is good to be able to go to Great Britain because that is quite a recognised, I would say, country in the world when it comes to academic qualifications and actually being qualified like, like the accountancy firms everywhere like, UK and America are probably one of the two top places in the world to be qualified from so it is good to have that sort of recognition behind you,

Using the words of Bourdieu, Daniel claims the ‘cards have been played well’, thus considering the UK to be beneficial to ‘the game’ and future of St Helena:

Daniel, 28, off-island I'd like to see independence you know but like I say to get there it would take a country like Britain to get us there you know cause like they are quite forward, they are forward in all these ways that could make the island what it could become you know, we are in a natural revolution of how this island will turn out you know, the cards have been played quite well, its just you know you have got to make the right decisions really

In comparison, some islanders claimed they don't mind who the island belongs to as long as they have security with someone. For example, Edward stated that the island simply needs a mother country and a flag to look to. Clive made a similar comment, clearly demonstrating a sense of abstractness. He confirmed that he has no problem being British, but similarly he wouldn't have a problem being Russian or French:

Clive, 60, on-island oh yes, that's quite important I mean, uuh, its part of our culture, we were brought up, its sort of, for me its like uh, its like uh, having somebody looking over you, like you have a connection, uuh, you have your family, you have your parents and your grandparents but its like a, like you belong to somewhere, so I think yes, I mean you know, we were brought up British so I haven't got a problem with that,

but uh we have to belong to somebody you know, like if it is the Russian or French or whoever like that, you just need that you belong to somebody

Angela specifically attributed the rise of the unofficial public narrative of abstractness, to when the island lost its British citizenship rights:

Angela, 36, on-island England at the time when she wasn't going to give us back our passport, the other option was to ask the Portuguese if they want us

Researcher really, was that considered by just the man on the street or was that considered by government?

Angela man on the street

However, some islanders felt a definite affiliation to other countries. For example, Avril stated she would like to belong to the French because of Napoleon's influence on the island. Similarly, Simon explained how due to working on Ascension Island for many years he would like the island to belong to the USA:

Simon, 55, on-island sometimes I wish the Americans would come here and take charge of this place to get things done and get movin and you know, we all waiting around and stuff, I always say that

Researcher so you would happily change to a United States island

Simon oh yes, yeah, I enjoy, I enjoy working with the Americans, they don't mess you around, they get on with it, if they've got something to do they get on with it.

Zoe decided to comment on the islanders' difference to the British and she resists a cultural likeness to the British. She claimed the islanders are increasingly becoming *not* like the British and is worried this will change if an airport is built on the island:

Zoe, 27, on-island we're stuck in the middle of nowhere you know, we are not surrounded by people like you who are born over in Britain you know, we're all born here, so we feel like we got our own culture ... I think more and more we are becoming more not like Britain, and that's

another thing we are worried about with the airport, is that we are going to become even more like Britain

What Voloshinov considered to be essential within the dialogic was the ideological context of utterance that forms the consciousness that drives language. Thus, for Voloshinov (1995, p. 136) ideology involves life experience and the consciousness rather than authoritative systems, like for Althusser. For example, Donna's story of migration is a story of self realisation through lived experience. Thus, for Donna, what is important is that the St Helenian community are treated fairly and are aware that they belong somewhere. For Donna, a sense of equality is more important than Britishness and so she would be prepared to 'move' and 'adapt'. She used the word 'travellers' to describe how St Helenians are nomadic, and lack a sense of roots and belonging to a wider national community. She does however, state that a sense of belonging is important:

Donna, 36, off-island we don't have to stay in Britain, you know we have considered before sometimes we are a bit like uum travellers, you know, gypsies, that we can move around and do things. You know, I think the one realisation one night, we were watching uum, you know they used to have these programmes on people moving abroad and I said to Richard you know what, we've done that without any agency helping us or anything, we have actuallyI think we will fit in, I think St Helenians are adaptable and I think they could fit in somewhere else as long as we were treated fairly I think that's important, yeah it wouldn't matter in that way, even though they have given us citizenship, its just the sense of wanting to belong that is more important to us regardless of what nationality you are

Culture is thus an '*open* unity' (Bakhtin, 2006a, p. 6) as it provides the flexibility for change, but only in a dialogic sense where old and new ideologies merge, struggle and oppose simultaneously within language. This requires a struggle to weaken existing ideologies, by penetrating established secondary speech genres as

well as established organisations. Emma, for example, noted the decline in the respect for the British Royal Family on the island:

Emma, 34, on-island I mean, my great Grandma, she used to think oh what's her name, the Queen Mother, that was her hero, like me I think that Lara Croft is great, but my great Grandma she used to be into the Queen Mother, and in her home she used to have like pictures of the Royal Family hung up and stuff like that, but I think that went out decades ago

Although this may be similar to attitudes in the UK as well as on the island, it nonetheless highlights how some of the traditional influences are declining. In other words, when the old boy networks in the *space of possibles* break down, shifts occur in the habitus and new speech genres form. Emma's story is one where the media is becoming a dominant institutional state apparatus and a respected speech community within the habitus. Moreover, for some islanders, the hailing of the British Royal family, instructing the islanders of the British national identity, is no longer heard.

Contradiction, Continuation, Reflection: the Final Story

Multiple and often opposing forms of knowledge, conflict and contradiction all come together within language and becomes smoothed out (Dentith, 1995, p. 27). Life stories can thus be nuanced, contradictory, multiple and formed within the past, present and future of a particular community (Maybin, 2003, p. 70). Indeed, many of the St Helenians appear to have a conscious awareness that they have philosophised about the past, the current and their future. They have identified for themselves, particular contradictions, feelings, anxieties and problems. For example, Tania has

realised that her life story is one of contradiction and negotiation, but nonetheless she is aware that she loves the island:

Tania, 58, off-island I know, I know, that's me, I love my island and I leave, because you leave to better yourself you know, to get the things that you can't have on the island, ... you know it's a lovely island, ... but way of life over here is just so much easier, you know everything is so easy to get hold of, you know you are not waiting for the ship to come in, ... I am contradicting sort of saying I love my island

The story of the island's importance continues due to the love and emotion that the islanders have for their island. The St Helenian community thus teach to the next generation, the meaning of the island and the importance of the community, even at a time of rupture and dispersal. The habitus, the community consciousness, and the ideology of the island, is thus passed on; tossed like a ball across generations (Voloshinov, 1995, p. 125):

Donna, 36, off-island its important to us that these children know where they are from, this is who they are and why they are who they are, because of the way we were brought up and we pass these values, that we were given as children and pass it onto them, and they need to know where its come from,

Dialogic language is thus evaluative language. For James and Donna, their evaluations have concluded that the island is important and the next generation must be taught the importance and value of the island, and thus create 'a continuum'. Similar to Donna above, James described what is ideologically important to the St Helenian community and that is the continuation of the small St Helenian community. He teaches them that this is due to the islanders' resilience, determination and strength of character. Thus, the history of its past has become the

story of its future, and the St Helenian psyche and community consciousness remains embedded within the island's local institutional state apparatus, the educational curriculum:

James, 70, on-island resourcefulness, that's at the centre of St Helenian identity and culture, ... when we first set up this new system, education system, we wanted to, islanders to really identify, wonder who they are and what was the system. So we used this philosophy and culture, to become part of the school system, and so when we launched the school system one of the things I did was to see what the Saints did with petrol drums, I've got some slides, but I also show what was happening two or three hundred years ago when they were channelling out from the red ash, I just wanted to illustrate a continuum, for building all these forts, the roads, and that culture is still with us, and that's been part of our identity eh, of being resourceful

Janet's evaluation is less instructive and more philosophical. Supporting my argument that the islanders have shifted to a sense of an abstract identity, Janet explicitly questions what the island is all about. She refers to the Portuguese and African heritage on the island, but she does not include the British. Janet narrates how she visited her local Cathedral and in the Cathedral is a plaque that is dedicated to the founding member of the organisation which she coincidentally now works for. By looking at the plaque she has realised that the island is still 'new'. She starts her narration with a reflection on the recent wave of migration, as a consequence of the return of citizenship. In a story of nostalgia, philosophy, fantasy and a global community, she interprets the recent wave of migration as the islanders returning 'back to our roots', and *to* a mainland. Subsequently, her story is one of ancestry and an evolving cycle. Moreover, Janet's story is not dissimilar to the repertoire of Daniel used in the previous section, where he referred to the island as being 'in a natural revolution':

Janet, 51, off-island its taken a lot of people away and I can't blame them, ... I see it in a wider sort of uum [context], you know, ... I was in uum, [a] Cathedral one day, looking around, and ... there is a plaque, ... he was born in 1500 something or other, and he lived in 1500 something or other, just after, I remember making a mental note, that was just after my island was discovered, St Helena was discovered in 1502, so he was around just after that, and I remember thinking crickey, my island is quite new really, its only 500 years old, and within those 500 years look at what has happened to it, it was discovered by all these different people, Portuguese, Africans, you know all these different people have already ... stopped by, created a community, and we are almost going back to our roots again now because here am I coming over here, living, ... by and large there isn't a real St Helenian, well there is a St Helenain, but we do, our family tree is still very young and that is what made me think about that, I'm thinking well these people are leaving the island now and Saints are everywhere ... it just brought it home to me and I thought crickey, what am I doing here, where have I come from, here is me, I have been created by some people who have passed by, dropped on the island, and now ... I am employed by a founder who was around when that island could have been passed by with the ships and nobody need to know anything about it, for my existence to have been here, what a strange feeling you know, uum, ...if you live on the island, you don't get to think about these things, you know, the day comes and it goes and you live and you go on and on and on and you live your life and you live that island life and you live in that routine and I don't know how healthy that is to be honest, ... you cannot keep this place [St Helena] in a little cotton wool sack forever

Janet's story above is also one of inconsequentialness, whereby the island could easily have not been discovered. Subsequently, her story is a humble one. Similar to the comments of other St Helenians, she argues how when on the island the islanders can be very inward looking. However, now off the island she realises that the island is actually an inconsequential place. She notes how when on the island it consumes you and she argues this to be unhealthy. She uses the metaphor of 'a little cotton wool sack' to symbolise how the island has to break away from its inwardness, insularity and ignorance to the world going on outside. Moreover, she demonstrates the need to leave the island from time to time, to obtain a realistic perspective of what the island, and what life in general, is all about.

Bakhtin (2006b, p. 79) stated how the dominant stories of a specific community will reveal the identity formation, structures and agency, generic experiences and social psychology of a specific community. Voloshinov argued that the language that is native to an agent provides ‘the atmosphere’ for life and so contains ‘no mystery’ (1995, p. 118). Therefore, those who speak a particular language or tell particular stories will do so because of the community that they are embedded within. Janet’s story was incredibly philosophical. It captures a St Helenian forward-thinking for themselves, about the meaning of islandness and the meaning of St Helenianness.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered some of the dominant stories of the St Helenians: the public narratives, the philosophical thought-processes, as well as stories that cannot always be told. Together, they reveal some of the ‘truths’ of the community. The Plummer and Bakhtin analytical frameworks have thus awarded this thesis the further opportunity to analytically investigate the islanders collectivity and connectivity. In similar and dissimilar ways, Plummer and Bakhtin offer this island investigation an understanding of how structures are talked about in speech and stories. Moreover, they offer an analysis of how agents achieve strength at the psychological and community level, through collective interaction.

Plummer and Bakhtin’s analytical concepts thus assist with the investigation of ‘the spirit’ of the St Helenian people, in other words, what constitutes their collective language, collective consciousness and ideological

consciousness (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 68). The St Helenian stories or ‘truths’ cement the St Helenian community during times of flux, because history has provided the islanders with a collective sense of history and collective sense of identity. This then becomes a collective sense of belonging and a strong sense of community.

Through a variety of genres, the St Helenians debate, justify, reflect, persuade, re-adjust and realign their positions. As migrants, they encounter new voices of their hostland, and experience new experiences. Thus their heteroglossic voices become stronger and are transferred back to the homeland as new ideological positions. The St Helenian community are thus able to debate, shift and create new ideological positions, without losing a sense of intactness, as the multiple and often contradictory voices, opinions and positions are brought together within one community consciousness.

The dominant stories that have been covered within this chapter thus illustrate what it means to be a St Helenian, what histories inflect their identities and how the language that they use inflects their sense of their selves. Moreover, similar to the findings of other island studies (Bethel, 2002, p. 243), the St Helenians provide authenticity to their ‘real’ island stories by using a generic language. Each of the data analysis chapters have covered some of the specific idiosyncratic meanings that the St Helenians regularly use within their speech, language and stories. Such words include ‘home’, ‘the ship’, ‘the RMS’, ‘the outside world’, ‘opening up’, ‘freedom’, ‘opportunity’, ‘cut off’ and ‘isolated’. Thus, the islanders are a speech community. Their language provides the testimony that, even when dispersed and even without actually knowing each other, a specific St Helenian and island

language continues. The community consciousness thus demonstrates a sense of being intact.

CHAPTER 7: The Conclusion

The Preliminary Ideas

Within the Prelude to this thesis, I explained how I came to be involved with the St Helenian community and how such involvement developed my initial research focus and interests. Like so many others, I was intrigued by the island's fascinating history and unique economic status. Moreover, whilst working for the St Helena Link I enjoyed listening to some of the stories and narratives of the islanders. These included stories of domestic work, life on Ascension, and the times when St Helena Island had run out of particular resources, such as butter and tobacco. I was moved when I heard how some children do not see their parents from one year to the next, and how some spouses only speak on the telephone for ten minutes per month. Additionally, from both islanders and ex-patriots, I heard the patronizing generalizations that the islanders had become unmotivated and lacked ambition.

Particular myths and public narratives follow the island. As discussed in chapter one, they include the conspiracy theories that speculate over the future of the island and question the island's economic and political status. Such narratives remain firmly embedded within colonial discourses and continue with the processes of 'othering' and the downgraded British identity for the St Helenians. Thus, even though British citizenship was returned to the islanders in 2002, the identity formation of the islanders continues through language, and the islanders remain positioned as 'non-legitimate' British citizens. Despair, dismay and confusion regarding such patronising, down-grading and dismissive attitudes towards the

islanders was evident within the St Helenian community and epitomised by Nicola's narrative below:

Nicola, 45, off-island I know the island is small, and it's a little dot on the globe, but ... we should still have been acknowledged ... that make you feel bad because some people say look, where is St Helena, ... [do] you wear grass skirts?

During my time in the Link Office, I listened to the stories of resentment and resistance. I listened to islanders who scorned the ex-pat teachers and ex-pat officials who had gone to the island and assumed they knew best. Many ex-pats appeared to have been given the nickname of 'Little Napoleon' on the local grapevine. Thus, during my years as an R.A. investigating the effects of television, I became intrigued by the Island of St Helena, which clearly has a complex relationship with their mainland and a complex British national identity. Moreover, through the stories of the St Helenians, there was clearly more to island life than a subordinate culture and dependent economy, and this was what I intended to investigate. As James said within his quote that can be found at the beginning of Chapter One, there is a side of the St Helenian community that has not yet been fully appreciated or investigated.

Informing the Investigation

Within the existing literature on small islands, Baldacchino (2008, p. 37) argued the need for islanders to be able to voice their own narratives. Moreover, he argued the need for island researchers to focus on dominant island experiences for an unbiased understanding of islands and their communities. As a strategy for listening to islanders tell their stories, Baldacchino (2006, p. 9) called for a need for island

researchers to unpack the meanings of islandness, for an understanding of islands. Moreover, Eriksen, (1993, p. 139) identified the need to investigate distinct idiosyncratic ‘cultural island phenomena’. Hay (2006, p. 31-34) suggested the need for island studies to focus on experience, which demonstrates ‘ideologically-coded’ understandings of identity, place and relationships. He thus called for Island Studies to shift its focus towards cultural geography and phenomenology (2006, p. 19).

Supporting the work of Baldacchino, Eriksen and Hay, my contribution to Island Studies is one that has captured islandness, as articulated by the islanders themselves. I have drawn upon their stories and lived experiences, to demonstrate their ‘ideologically-coded’ understandings of their identity, their relationships, as well as what the island means to them. I thus adopted a cultural approach that addressed the complexity and nuance of the islander’s experiences, through an investigation of ideology, resistance and diversity. Moreover, I did so through the deconstruction of the narratives and repertoires within my rich ethnographic data, which captured a holistic experience of island life and some ‘truth claims’, in other words, the public narratives of the island.

When interrogating the existing literature, I identified a wealth of literature on larger islands that has adopted a cultural approach and addressed the complexity and nuance of islander experiences. This field of study thus provided the appropriate exemplars for which to start research into islandness and then apply it to small islands. Many of the cultural geographers, for example, referred to the concepts of difference and distinction to argue a symbolic and imagined sense of place and community (Seong-Nae, 2004; Campbell, 2002). Others investigated how history

can become the vehicle which provides a symbolic and imagined form of resistance to change (Anthony, 1998; Cole & Middleton, 2001). Some island scholars called for an understanding of island life that is based upon memory, imagination and oral history for an understanding of the present (Bethel, 2002; Rapport, 2002). Others called for a need to consider the dialogic interaction between the ethnographer and their informants (Cohen, 1987); a dialogic understanding of resistance and symbolic forms of release for those who are repressed or form a minority group (Nurse, 1999); and how multi-voiced ancestors are blended together to form a coherent, symbolic and imagined sense of the now (Cole and Middleton, 2001). Some of the cultural researchers investigated how an imagined national identity had been ideologically imposed upon Diasporic communities (Li Puma, 1997; Noivo, 2000; Rajasingham-Seanayake, 2002).

Also identified within the islands literature, was the issue of survival. Doumenge (1985) made the point that some island communities have survived after being reduced to only 100 members and he argued that viability depends upon the community's will to survive. Other island researchers have attributed continuity to islanders' 'internal discourse' (Olwig, 1993), or their shifting of their symbolic practices in times of conflict or change as a form of resistance and self-preservation (Cohen, 1987). Skinner (2002a) recognised the 'habitus' as a set of informal skills that aids survival.

Althusser (1971, p. 114-115) questioned whether a survival, or a community, continues due to customs, habits or traits, or whether a survival continues due to national traditions, memories, or 'the spirit' of the community. Moreover, as stated

in Chapter One, James queried how St Helena has managed to survive given its history of dreadfulness, fracturedness and diversity. In light of St Helena's ruptured history; their insecurities as a consequence of their national identity; the declining numbers of St Helenians living on the island; and the dispersal of the St Helenian community as a consequence of continuing migration, the nature of survival is pertinent within this thesis. Thus, difference and distinction; customs and habits; a symbolic and imagined sense of place; national identity; history, memory and imagination; were all apposite issues to include within an investigation of islandness, community and continuity.

I thus decided to explore the material and psychological structures for the islanders; the formal and informal rules and regulations that enable continuity and discontinuity during times of shifts and rupture; and the collective identities and collective histories of the islanders, which award the islanders a sense of intactness alongside dispersal. I decided to do this through a nuanced and complex understanding of the deeper unifying themes of islandness, including those of attachment, rootedness and intersubjective identifications, which feeds into an understanding of nationalism, place, identity, attachment, migration, transnationalism, islands and islandness. Whereas Hay suggested the need for island studies to become a 'phenomenology of islands' (2006, p. 31-34), I decided the theoretical tools of symbolic interactionism would drive my research. This would enable a nuanced and thematic assessment of the meanings in play on the island, because human worlds are symbolically and linguistically constructed (Prus, 1996, p. 11).

The research was organised around the following three key research questions:

1- What are the narrative and discursive repertoires of St Helenian's themselves and that inflect St Helenian identity?

2- What do these narratives of St Helenian's suggest about the contemporary meanings of islandness, Britishness, post-colonial identities, culture and citizenship?

3- To what degree is a St Helenian identity maintained or transformed when overseas and through patterns of multiple migration, and what identity practices are invoked in this context?

Investigating Islandness

For the collection of in-depth stories and narratives, the empirical data for this research consists of 68 interviews, supported by observations of the St Helenian community, both on and off the island. The interviews were semi-structured to allow the stories and narratives of the islanders to flow as conversation, whilst at the same time remain focused on the issues of migration, islandness and identity. From the start of my research, I knew I did not want to limit my research to 'key-informants' on the island, in other words, those considered educated and articulate, and who would express themselves in a particular way. Thus, my non-random sample was open to any St Helenian, who was first generation St Helenian, had at least one St Helenian parent, and who was over eighteen.

As discussed in chapter 3, whilst on island some islanders told me I was talking to the wrong 'type' of islander and directed me to particular people on the island. Moreover, whilst in the UK some St Helenians were surprised that I had not spoken with particular St Helenians whilst on the island. On one occasion, one British person told me I had not spoken to the right people on the island. To me, this

merely proved the hierarchies of class, power and capital that are embedded on the island as well as how particular narratives can exist for an outside audience (Shulenburg, 2002, p. 26). This is something I wished to overcome within my research.

For an investigation of the subtle and nuanced formations of identity, an analysis of the St Helenian narratives has been supported by the four theorists of Althusser (chapter 4), Bourdieu (chapter 5), Plummer and Bakhtin (chapter 6). Within this concluding chapter however (chapter 7), the analysis will now become triangulated for a constellation of approaches, and a conclusion of the nuanced, juxtaposed, and contradictory experiences of the St Helenian Islanders.

Olwig summarised that a problem of past research on post-colonial island communities is that researchers have looked for communities that make ‘distinct wholes’ and display explicit collective identities, rather than subtle and nuanced formations of identity. Therefore, when a strong or fixed culture cannot be identified the specific characteristics of a culture goes unrecognised. She argued that reflexivity, interaction and difference *within* an island community should be investigated, rather than cultural uniqueness (1993, p. 202). This is what I intended to capture through a constellation of analytical approaches. However, before I complete this thesis with the key findings from an amalgamation of the analytical frameworks, I will first provide an overview of the findings discovered within each of the data analysis chapters as well as the limitations of the research.

Ideological Islandness: The Apparatus of Island Identity

Throughout this thesis, I have argued the need for an investigation of the St Helenian community that focuses specifically on the community rather than the economy. However, within chapter one I also argued that the structural and macro elements of the island cannot be ignored. This was because the St Helenian economy and surrounding superstructures are constituted almost entirely as a public economy, maintained by British public funding, and also is a creation and offshoot of the British state.

The British Government has already been accused of preventing business on the island (Gillett, 1983, p. 157) and retaining dependency (Cohen, 1983a, 1983b). However, I have enhanced this interpretation of the St Helenian economy by using a post-Althusserian analysis, which has investigated islandness and *how* the British political superstructures continue to overdetermine the St Helenian identity. The St Helena Government website, for example, states ‘St Helena’s economy is very much affected by its physical isolation and limited natural resources’ (St Helena Government, 2011). This quote demonstrates my argument throughout this thesis, that the superstructures of the British public economy have been somewhat disguised by the geography and remoteness of the island. At face value, the limited economy of the island appears to be a consequence of islandness and remoteness. The islanders therefore appear disempowered through a ‘natural’ lack of resources and distance from any mainland.

Throughout chapter 4 however, I have argued that what actually disguises

and overdetermines the exploitative and repressive British public economy on the island, is the islanders ideological belonging to a wider national community. In other words, the islanders' official national identity of being British citizens alongside their geographical remoteness, is what has legitimized and naturalised the island's economic status. Nationalism has become the vehicle which smoothes out the contradictions on the island and underpins the complex whole. The islanders therefore, have been hailed and interpellated into a British identity, which positions the British as allies of the St Helenian community, which in turn cements the overdetermination of the economy. The ideological state apparatus continues the overdetermined colonial gaze towards the British, positioning the British at the top of a hierarchy of power, and preventing the islander's empowerment. Subsequently, within the repertoires of the islanders were the comments 'we are grateful to the British'. The islanders are thus immersed within a sense of Britishness, and a disempowering psychological structure.

The material and psychological structures on the island make it difficult for the islanders to see beyond Britishness. For example, through institutional state apparatus, the islanders are taught their British national identity through their education system. Moreover, within the institutions of the island, such as the health system, they are expected to adhere to British standards. They abide by British law, are overseen by a British Governor, and a presence of the British monarchy remains symbolically strong on the island. Through investigating the islanders' personal narratives, I have investigated how the islanders have embodied, assimilated, reflected and reproduced the ideological structure of a British identity.

The British education system on the island, as well as the lack of work and employment opportunity on the island, has encouraged and compelled many St Helenians to leave the island. As agents within an endless chain of production, consumption, capital and surplus, the St Helenian community is thus 'ejected 'into production' (Althusser, 2008, p. 29) and ejected into a life overseas. However, due to the structures imposed upon them by the British by the 1981 British Nationality Act, the St Helenians have had little choice but to accept the low paid and temporary work on Ascension Island or the Falkland Islands.

The islanders have become a cheap reserve army of labour, either directly for the British, or for the Americans which has been encouraged by the British. This form of employment; their reliance on a British Grant-in-aid; their position on the island when alongside ex-pats and experts; their 'non-legitimate' British national identity, has each contributed to an interpellated disempowered sense of the St Helenian- self. Thus, this thesis has investigated the islander's imaginary relationship to their real conditions of experience. Their stories are embedded within the discourses of dependency.

The stories also revealed juxtapositions and contradictions. On the one hand, the islanders articulate a fondness of the British, are proud to be British and have a desire to work for the British. On the other hand, the islanders demonstrate that they are not passive puppets and thus are not necessarily convinced that the economy on the island is a 'natural' consequence of the island's geographical location. Thus, they articulate their resentment and frustration, not only due to the remoteness of the island, but also due to the restrictions imposed upon them by the

St Helenian Government. Ironically, in many ways, this is where the overdetermination continues, because the St Helenian Government has become the 'buffer' that directs the complaints of the St Helenians away from the British Government and onto the St Helenian Government. However, it could be argued that this was what the interviews captured merely because the researcher was British and so the St Helenian interviewees were demonstrating their expertise of silencing their hostility (Skinner, 2002b, p. 307).

The neo-Althusserian analytical tools have however, been instrumental in demonstrating how as social agents, the St Helenian community reflects on, and reacts to, their British national identity. The St Helenian community have articulated the benefits of being supported by a British public economy and a British national identity, as well as the frustrations of this mode of existence. Moreover, the islanders demonstrated that they are aware of their status as British 'others' and that their Britishness is not something that is fully secured, but something that needs to be constantly worked at and justified by the St Helenians themselves.

The first data chapter (chapter 4) has thus investigated the structural and macro elements of the island. It has been done through a heuristic investigation of the economic limitations that the islanders encounter, through the stories and experiences of the islanders themselves. I have thus investigated how the macro fits into the micro, and how this state structured community, with a public economy and continued dependency upon its motherland, informs the St Helenian identity, their psyche and their St Helenianness.

Habitus, Distinction and the Reproduction of Islandness

Throughout this thesis I have argued that there is more to St Helenianness than subordination, helplessness and disempowerment. The analytical tools of Bourdieu have thus enhanced Althusser's purchase into structure, by an investigation of agency alongside structure. Moreover, the Bourdieun analysis has provided this thesis the opportunity to further investigate the islanders customs, habits and traits, and thus position the islanders at the centre of this research. St Helena is a real geographical space, which has been layered with an imagined set of rules, regulations, values, institutions and discourses, by the St Helenian community. By investigating Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, alongside the *space of possibles*, a more holistic understanding of the St Helenian community has been achieved.

The analytical tools of Bourdieu have provided the apt analytical concepts for an understanding of how, when possible, agents use their agency to guide themselves around structures and embark on trajectories, chance happenings and opportunities. Bourdieu's analytical concepts thus award a nuanced understanding of continuity and discontinuity, movement and agency, feelings and emotion, at this most recent time of shift and rupture within this island community.

Chapter 5 indicated how the St Helenian community felt when the 1981 British Nationality Act denied them citizenship. Their stories discussed the tactics of the Citizenship Commission, who actively fought for more opportunities. Moreover, their stories included the feelings of excitement as some of the islanders obtained other opportunities to migrate, particularly to Ascension Island and the Falkland

Islands. However, when the structures that had removed British citizenship dissolved, a higher number of islanders were awarded the opportunity to migrate, and a new wave of migration has thus occurred.

Structures of opportunities and structures of feelings have thus created juxtaposed, contradictory and nuanced stories. Stories of loss and dispersal, longings for home and family, longings for new opportunities and new forms of freedom, are embedded within the St Helenian community, as articulated by their stories. The modes of attachment and detachment are suggested by the analogies and ‘feeling words’ in their testimonies. Metaphors of insider and outsider are evident, as are testimonies of being stuck in circumstance with a yearning for more agency. As migrants, such feelings occur both in the homeland and the hostlands. Feelings thus derive from and respond to structures. St Helenians made decisions for rational choice reasons, but decisions were also made due to feelings of structure, which at times appeared irrational. Thus an intimate relationship exists between rational agency and feeling agency.

The complex dichotomy of structure and agency remains constantly in play for the St Helenian community, and the islanders negotiate opportunity through their accumulation of various forms and amounts of capital. Many islanders accumulate the cultural capital of Britishness through socialising with ex-pats on island. Moreover, they accumulate British cultural capital when working for the British on Ascension or as domestics in the UK. When overseas they aim to accumulate economic capital. They pay off their loans to the St Helenian Government quicker than they would if they lived on island, or they send home

money each month to pay a St Helenian builder to build their home on the island. When overseas, the islanders can also accumulate symbolic capital through academic qualifications, or the prestige and honour which is awarded to them when they return home more economically and culturally richer.

Within their stories, the St Helenian community narrated how they assist fellow St Helenian migrants with settling into their new environments, in other words, they offer cultural capital. They teach each other the habitus of the hostland as well as provide comforting and symbolic traits of the homeland, through cooking and dancing. Moreover, those in the homeland and the hostland stay in touch and a network of regular communication and support exists across the Atlantic. Thus, through social and economic remittances, the St Helenians are shifting and also strengthening the position of the island even when dispersed overseas.

As the islanders negotiate themselves through their destinies, trajectories, chance happenings and opportunities, distinction and symbolic violence can influence. For example, some islanders accept low status positions as a consequence of their acceptance that a hierarchy is the natural order of things. They recognise themselves as being lower down the hierarchy than the British 'others'. Some St Helenians however, draw upon their cultural and symbolic capital, which enables them to aim higher and achieve more. The St Helenian community thus have an understanding of themselves because they recognise their distinction from others, and this includes a distinction from the British. They recognise that other communities and cultures have different mannerisms, habits, tastes and habitus to themselves. This helps form their understanding of their self, their community and

their position in comparison to others. Moreover, it assists the islanders with tightening the boundaries of their own community, and strengthening their collective identity during times of shifts and ruptures.

The analytical tools of Bourdieu have therefore, contributed to the analysis of this thesis an understanding of how agents adapt to new circumstances and are not simply subjects of shifting social structures. The St Helenian *space of possibles* provides the islanders with their parameters and potentialities for social action. The habitus shifts as agents push for change, and require new skills and resources to exist within a new environment. Thus the habitus accommodates and supports change, and enables the community to stay intact during times of rupture. Bourdieu's theories thus offer the purchase of an investigation of movement and agency, emotional investedness and the capacity for inharmonious and incompatible understandings to be smoothed over, through feelings. As islanders embark on their inevitable destinies and trajectories, they must engage in many and diverse paradoxical investments, for a sense of hope, a sense of the self and a sense of community.

History, Interaction and Reproduction as Islandness

The Plummer and Bakhtin analytical frameworks awarded this thesis the further opportunity to analytically investigate the islanders with regards to their collectiveness and connectivity. In similar and dissimilar ways, Plummer and Bakhtin offer this island investigation an understanding of how meanings are constructed within speech and stories. Moreover, they offer an analysis of how

agents achieve strength at the psychological and community level, through collective interaction. Together the theorists provide discourse authenticity and narrative authenticity to this thesis, thus demonstrating the boundaries of the community. Thus, Plummer and Bakhtin's analytical concepts assist with the investigation of 'the spirit' of the St Helenian people, in other words, their collective language that demonstrates a form of collective personality, collective consciousness and ideological consciousness (Bakhtin, 2006b, p. 68).

The tools of Plummer have been used to produce the testimonies of shared experiences on the island. For the St Helenian community, the dominant stories and narratives tend to include migration in one way or another. An investigation of their personal narratives and recent stories on the island have revealed that although an economic necessity is often what justifies the need to migrate, the St Helenians have other reasons for leaving. The stories of utopia, freedom and tranquillity on the island are often intertwined with stories of mundaneness, routine, boredom and suffocation. Islanders leave for reasons of freedom, and return for other forms of freedom. Some migrants have success stories whereas others have stories of disillusionment when overseas. Many island migrants have both, as their migrant stories are simultaneously ones of contradictory feelings and a negotiation of feelings, losses and gains.

Some of the stories for the islanders however, were not experienced within living memory but instead were stories that have been handed down throughout generations. Some were based on the island's early history, during times of colonialism, before a distinct St Helenian identity was created. Thus, the stories

were about immigrants *to* the island. These stories or metanarratives included the ghost stories based upon slavery, stories of the British military on island, and stories of the Boers on the island. Others were based on waves of St Helenians migrating away from the island. Thus, more recent stories are those of the 100 men, the female domestics, and those who have gone to the Falklands or Ascension Island.

The St Helenian stories illustrate the distinctive character of the St Helenian community. In other words, the St Helenian community are, in Bakhtinian terms, a speech community. Their stories illustrate what is ideologically remembered, taught and remain ‘alive’ within a community, even when not experienced within living memory or by each individual in a community. Thus, through their collective narratives the islanders have illustrated what is important within their community. A collective knowledge of the island’s history has become the vehicle that ideologically underpins the importance of the island, and this manifests itself through stories. The St Helenian stories or ‘truths’ cement the St Helenian community during times of flux, because history has provided the islanders with a collective sense of the past and collective sense of identity. This then becomes a collective sense of belonging, a strong sense of community, and a collective sense of strength, even when dispersed overseas. The key role that such narrative plays is thus the cementing of continuity and identification through times of migration and uprootings. The language of the St Helenian community has thus created a continuum.

Drawing upon a range of voices from the past, present and future, and through a variety of speech genres, the St Helenians debate, re-adjust and realign

their positions. As migrants, they encounter new voices of their hostland and engage in new experiences, which are transferred back to the homeland as new ideological positions. The St Helenian community are thus able to shift and create new ideological positions, without losing a sense of intactness, as the multiple, juxtaposed and contradictory voices, opinions and positions are brought together within one community consciousness. This collection of available speech genres is what forms a sense of a collective community, and this is what awards them strength, power and a desire for a collective future. Through language and stories, the St Helenians are awarded the safe space to consciously reflect, debate and decide who they are and who they are not.

Some stories are still not ready to be told on the island, and other stories are not ready to fully ‘come out’. These are the stories which illustrate that the island is on a cusp of ideological change. For example, some St Helenians told me with apprehension and caution, the stories of resistance and opposition to the Governor, as well as stories of dissatisfaction with life on the island such as the higher status of the ex-pats and subordinate status of the islanders. Additionally, some islanders were willing to acknowledge and discuss their downgraded British identity and status. Such stories however, were not ready to be told by the whole St Helenian community thus illustrating that the St Helenian consciousness does not feel entirely ready for such change or perhaps not ‘safe’ when talking to a British audience. The St Helenian community therefore, illustrates that different voices, ideological positions and counter-discourses currently exist within the island community. They are being realised, reflected upon, debated, acted upon, and in some cases resisted.

Limitations of the Research

This research is a snapshot in time. It is a case study fixed in time and space. Spoken language, or utterance, is never fixed and so this captured narrative research is fixed to the specific timeframe in which the data was collected. To have added depth to the observational aspects of this study off island, fieldwork at Reading Sports would have been useful. Moreover, I regret not inviting myself to tea at the Governors house when the new ex-pat nurses and teachers were invited. Two ex-pat nurses who I travelled on the RMS with, advised me to invite myself. Since my return to the UK and reading the work of Skinner (2002a), I regret not taking their advice for a first-hand insight into the power hierarchies that exist over the islanders.

Through the use of a snowball sample, this research quite possibly only came into contact with a particular ‘type’ of St Helenian. Whilst on island, it could be argued that only those St Helenians confident enough to talk to an overseas researcher were included within the sample. Due to the small community it is quite possible that most St Helenians knew the nature of my visit to the island and those who did not wish to talk with me purposely avoided me. Moreover, it could be argued that my snowball sample with those off the island did not include members of the St Helenian Diaspora who have no contact with the St Helenian community. It is quite possible that those St Helenians who are detached from a wider St Helenian community would have a very different sense of their selves regarding a St Helenian and/or British identity.

Reflexivity however, must be acknowledged and undoubtedly my presence as the researcher has influenced and limited the experiences which I encountered

both on and off the island. All data is socially constructed (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, p. 1) and the research process was created by myself as the researcher. This included the method, the questions asked, my presence as a British 'other' in the field, the analysis of the data and the conclusions reached. In other words, my habitus has been in play throughout the whole process (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, p. 8). The data analysis is merely my interpretation of the interviewees' interpretation (2009, p. 287). Although this is a limitation, this is a limitation for all research. Moreover, in an attempt to be reflexive I have discussed throughout this thesis my awareness of my own assumptions, my presence as a British 'other' and my presence as an outsider whilst working with the St Helenian community. Additionally, I attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible when in the field, and allow the respondents to talk freely about their perceptions and experiences. In other words, I attempted to comply to ethical regulations at all times and also actively reflect throughout the whole research process on the community I was engaging with.

In an attempt to be reflexive and overcome the tendency for researchers to be limited by their own personal repertoires of theoretical interpretations (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, pp. 270 - 273), the data was interrogated through the use of a constellation of analytical tools from four theorists, each of whom are from a different academic backgrounds. Thus the data was interrogated from more than one analytical perspective, which has created an innovative and original analytical triangulation. The research process thus shifted away from old theoretical interpretations and attempted critical and 'reflexive rigour' through new improved practices and analytical techniques (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, pp. 312-313).

My use of Bakhtin's analytical tools in chapter 6, for example, assisted with being reflexively rigorous due to Bakhtin's concepts which reflexively investigate simultaneous, multiple voices. Additionally in chapter 4, my use of the neo-Althusserian analysis investigated how St Helenians themselves reflect upon their limited opportunities when on island. Moreover, chapter 4 included how the research process itself, on occasion actually initiated the islander's reflection. My research has thus actively engaged with reflexive analytical tools. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have included examples of how the islanders reflect upon themselves; how islanders reflect when engaging with others; what stories are safe or told with caution; and how members of the St Helenian community interact with a British 'other'.

Although the concept of reflexivity can highlight limitations within research, my research has produced some interesting and valuable data nonetheless. This research contributes to the literature on St Helena, and resolves the failure of the existing literature to position the islanders and their feelings at the forefront of any research. Within this chapter I will now move on to the final summary of this thesis and state the main findings through its triangulation of approaches. It will thus summarise and nuance the subtle identities, characteristics and stories of the St Helenian community, as well as the key and original findings of this research.

Further research could enhance this research in many ways. Further research could involve the use of both an ex-pat researcher as well as a St Helenian researcher. Moreover, interviews with second generation islanders would be useful for follow-up research on the St Helenian community, to gather an understanding of

their sense of belonging to the island. Yon has captured some commentary and documentary footage on a DVD with second generation St Helenians, but the digital narratives lack the rigour of analytical investigation. It would also be useful to undertake some research with teachers and school children currently on the island, to see if the education on the island continues to favour a British focused curriculum, and whether the next generation of migrants are potentially being interpellated into a British national identity through the education on the island.

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Britishness: Identity, Belonging & the Imagined Community

The islanders strong sense of Britishness has been well documented. Moore (2000, p. 13), for example, argued that it was the islanders Britishness which should have made them exempt from the 1981 British Nationality Act which denied them their citizenship rights. O'Bey (no date, p. 8) claimed the islanders have a strong sense of loyalty to Britain, and Hogenstjin and Middlekoop (2002, 1.2) also argued the St Helenians have a strong British identity. However, Yon (2002, p. 6) noted the

paradox of St Helenian British citizens going to Britain and being treated as ‘others’; and Hogenstijn and Middlekoop (2002, 6.1.1) noted how the islanders can view Britain as both the master and the oppressor.

Cohen (1983a) noted the overdetermined nature of the islanders’ British identity which he argued they needed to break from. The Bishop of St Helena (1996) and Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2002, p. 3.2.2) however, argued that Cohen had underestimated the islanders *real* sense of Britishness. Through the analytical tools of Althusser, I supported the work of Cohen, who recognised that the British were continuing to impose a British system onto the St Helenians and that this system is fickle, degrading and imperialist. Through a neo-Althusserian analysis, I have strengthened Cohen’s argument and 30 years later investigated how the islanders continue to be *taught* Britishness and yet positioned by, within and yet on the outside of a British identity. I have done so by investigating the feelings and experiences of the islanders. Thus, although Althusser was heavily criticised for his denial of any historical and social content (Thompson, 1979, p. 287), I have reconciled the theories of Althusser by placing the very phenomenon that Althusser regarded as epiphenomenon at the centre of the study. Moreover, through the tools of Plummer and Bakhtin I have acknowledged the history of the islanders and illustrated that the history on the island has also been instrumental in interpellating a British national identity. Subsequently, Britishness as an ideological process manifests itself through contemporary state apparatus and the constant re-articulation of history.

The complex nature of St Helenian Britishness and the island's relationship to its mother country has also been well documented in existing research. Cohen, (1983a, p. 1) for example, claimed the island's 'attitude towards the metropole are extraordinarily complex'. Moreover, Hogenstijn and Middlekoop (2002, 6.1.2) stated how it is difficult to judge the feelings of Britishness on St Helena because their national identity is not exactly clear due to it often being confused with citizenship. To summarise the existing literature, Schulenburg (1998, p. 114) argued the islanders have a *dual* notion of a St Helenian local identity and a British national identity. The Bishop of St Helena (1996, p. 57) stated that the St Helenian local identity and a British national identity exist *alongside* each other. Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2005, p. 102) argued that the St Helenian identity *includes* Britishness. Moore (2000, p. 10) claimed that the St Helenian local identity is a functional one and the islanders are *dependent* upon a British national identity to secure their material existence (Moore, 2000, p. 10). I however, argue that a St Helenian identity is each of these, simultaneously and at cross purposes.

Within this thesis, I have thus reconciled the problem of trying to capture and describe a St Helenian identity as though it is fixed. Although the islanders clearly illustrate that they have been hailed into a British national identity and many passionately embrace their British identity and heritage, their stories however, reveal that the islanders are far from deceived about their downgraded British status and they are aware of the hierarchical position between themselves and the British. Moreover, the language and stories of the St Helenians demonstrate that for the St Helenians, their British national identity is not a given, but something that has to be constantly worked at, justified, and the paradoxes and contradictions smoothed over.

Thus the St Helenian identity is more than a structured interpellation. Through their stories they have demonstrated their agency through both an awareness of their situation as well as their constant working at the meanings of their Britishness.

The St Helenian identity is thus not an identity that runs parallel to a British identity. Instead, the St Helenian identity is a hybrid identity that draws upon a British identity in differing, various and multiple ways. Through a multitude of meanings and practices, the St Helenian identity is a careful negotiation of Britishness. It is a fusion and a blend. Subsequently, the island is not a 'distinct whole' or explicit collective identity (Olwig, 1993, p. 202). Rather it is a subtle and nuanced identity whereby the islanders 'internal discourse' (Olwig, 1993) enables their identity to be complex, reflexive, reactive and interactive. The islanders are continuously negotiating a space for themselves within and outside of Britishness, as well as ensuring Britishness has a space for them.

I have therefore epistemologically demonstrated the complex nature of the St Helenian identity and in a culturalist way, I have positioned the St Helenian community at the forefront of my research and used their narratives and feelings to demonstrate the complexity of their identity. Through a triangulation of analytical approaches I have investigated the nuanced, complex and contradictory St Helenian identity which past authors (Cohen (1983a; Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002; Yon, 2002) have commented on, yet never thoroughly engaged with in their work.

The habitus on the island thus contains the values and practices that enable the St Helenians to have pride in their Britishness, yet at the same time resist

it. Supported by the St Helenian habitus is a number of diverse, opposed and often overlapping ‘voices’ within the St Helenian community, who each articulate different ideological positions regarding the British and their Britishness. The St Helenians articulated a heteroglossia of voices, in other words, multiple, paradoxical and contradictory positions, which comfortably sit alongside each other within this particular island community.

Through investigating the habitus and the heteroglossia within the St Helenian community, I discovered one of the fundamental findings of this thesis. I argue that Cohen’s (1983) Marxist and implicit Althusserian argument that the islanders need to ideologically break from their Britishness, has in some respects taken place. Despite the multitude of perspectives on the island regarding a sense of Britishness, in 1981 each St Helenian *heard* the explicit rejection of the St Helenian community from the mainland British. They heard themselves being explicitly labelled as ‘others’. Simultaneously, new opportunities were awarded to the islanders, particularly on Ascension Island, where American culture is strong. Thus, through the triangulation of analytical approaches, I have found that the islanders’ sense of being hailed as British citizens has been weakened and an ideological connection has been lost. The voices of Britishness have become weaker, as other voices have been awarded the space to be heard.

In Althusserian terms, I thus argue that the islanders have shifted closer towards an abstract sense of identity, because it is ideology not history that forms the subject (Callinicos, 1976, p. 66). The UK shunned the St Helenians and as a consequence the St Helenians lost a sense of what the UK means to them. I found

many islanders who could not or would not identify with a British sense of identity. Some St Helenians articulated how they would prefer to belong to the Americans, the French, the Portuguese, or anyone who would treat them fairly.

Within this thesis, I subsequently argue that the most significant rupture for the St Helenian community was not the most recent wave of migration in 2002 as the conspiracy theories suggests. Rather it continues to be the rupture to their identity as a consequence of the removal of British citizenship in 1981. This rupture did not take place immediately but rather has manifested itself over the past 30 years. I thus argue that the removal of British citizenship has seriously damaged the imagined and ideological link between the mainland and the homeland for the St Helenians and this is now evident three decades later.

Islandness: Community, Survival & Continuity

Within the prelude to this thesis, the island was described as one that economically survives due to the economic aid, which stems from the island being a British public economy. However, what this thesis has also demonstrated is that this is merely the official economic status of the island, and the unofficial status is that the islanders themselves substantially contribute to the financial situation of the island. This has increased since the return of British citizenship in 2002, because the islanders are no longer limited to the low wages and limited contracts on Ascension Island and the Falklands. Moreover, as a consequence of the 1981 British nationality act, the islanders sense of entitlement and sense of rights had been severed and this has created not only a shift in the ideological link with Britain, but a shift in urgency by

some islanders into economically securing their own future.

Typical of capitalist society, the St Helenian community has been created as an endless chain of production and consumption, workers and consumers (Althusser, 2008, p. 3). The islanders are forced, yet at the same time encouraged and interpellated through the ideology of the St Helenian dream, to provide for themselves a materially adequate existence both on and off the island. Subsequently, when shifts in the *space of possibles* occurred and the islanders were returned their British citizenship rights, the islanders' habitus supported the desire for many to migrate and accumulate more economic capital.

The meaning of remittances on the island, for example, has shifted over the past couple of decades. Many islanders do not just send home money to support those left behind. Instead, they send money home for their own future. The hundreds of empty homes or half built homes may appear a depressing sight for those left behind but they are also a symbol of the future and a symbol that many islanders intend to return home. For Derek, this is 'the crux of the matter', or the meaning of migration. As he claimed, it's about when 'opportunity knocks'. The St Helenian community thus negotiate their lives through interactions, relationships, competition, conflict, coincidences and fortunateness (Bourdieu, 2009a, p. 150). The habitus, as their 'trump card' (Bourdieu, 2009a, p. 150), thus provides the values and belief systems for the island's progress and survival, and it enables contradictions in feelings to be smoothed out. The islanders demonstrate a sense of pride in their community and a firm sense of belonging to the island, yet simultaneously have a desire for new experiences and horizons, as well as capital.

Like many generations before them, those on island are currently experiencing a sense of loss. Some islanders commented on how the bars, pub and parties are no longer buzzing and the community spirit appears to have gone. Community centres have closed, the skills base has dwindled and the tax base has dwindled. When living in a small community, the loss is particularly noticeable and some islanders described how they find themselves socialising with a different age range or a new set of friends. Teachers commented on how this is a problem for school children who find themselves the only one of their age range in an area and so are now in a class with much older or much younger children.

Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop (2005, p. 102) stated that ‘at present, the future looks grim’. Moreover, Royle (2010, p. 20) stated that ‘the future of the island itself must be in some doubt’. I however, argue that the recent migration is not a unique rupture for the island, but rather the most recent shift in migration patterns. The history of the island proves that the island of St Helena has experienced waves of migration like this before and that this is a consequence of islandness. Continuity for the islanders is thus composed of a discourse of shift and rupture. Derek captured the bigger picture:

Derek, 63, on-island some people ... they say well, I wonder what’s going to happen to the island, that’s true in a sense ... but you see, people got short memories eh, ...[they say] oh my goodness people are leaving the island, there won’t be anybody down there, but you don’t know eh, that might be the sort of pattern for about ten years, maybe for twenty years. What happens after that, ... people come back, ...

As stated in chapter 6, a trend was starting to be noted on island, whereby some islanders in their twenties and thirties are now returning to the island

and leading a lifestyle that is more empowered and fulfilling than that of their parents generation. Moreover, the younger and middle generations are returning to the island, but with more demands and more power. Thus, many islanders are using their new opportunities in the *space of possibles* and the new opportunities with Britishness, to not necessarily leave the island forever, but instead earn enough economic capital to secure a contended future on the island. As James proudly stated, a higher percentage of St Helenians own their own homes than the British:

James, 70, on-island when you think 80% of St Helenians being in their home, that's a huge achievement and nobody's evaluated what that is,

In response to James I would argue that the islanders have heard their explicit rejection from the UK and used the *space of possibles* to secure their future. The St Helenian habitus thus shifts accordingly to provide the necessary skills to support the community through its shifts in migration patterns. Moreover, in times of loss, the community provides the support and sense of continuity where possible. For example, the teachers on the island explicitly stated how they work hard at awarding the children a sense of community at a time of loss and dispersal. Indeed, whilst I was on the island I attended many school Christmas services and cantatas, a Christmas swimming gala, and watched the children's Christmas procession through the town. Many islanders were adamant that at certain periods the islanders continue to pull together.

On ship day, the islanders take on their multiple roles of taxi drivers, buyers, sellers, unpackers and greeters, to returnee islanders and ex-pats alike. Hundreds of containers containing fruit, vegetables, cars, building materials and flat-

packed kitchens, for example, have to be lifted off the boat and many islanders offer the necessary manual labour. Many St Helenians told me how they have become masters at dismantling goods, and disguising their format, to prevent paying high import duty costs. For example, one St Helenian stripped his brand new car of all its badges and number plates, to disguise it as an older make and model. Another islander took apart a whole excavator and passed it off as spare parts. The habitus on the island thus continues to be one of thrift, resourcefulness, survival, continuity and togetherness.

A network of island life exists, not only on the island but also overseas, providing support and capital in various ways. For example, Jane sends food parcels from St Helena to her son on Ascension, to give him a variety of foods in the cheapest possible way. In return, her son orders Jane clothes and goods from the American shops and services on Ascension, and sends them home to her on St Helena. Moreover, in the UK the St Helenians tell the stories of cooking St Helenian dishes, going to the Cirencester dances or attending Reading Sports where ‘you see more of your friends than on island’. Many St Helenians told the story of how they go and visit the ship if it is docked in the UK, to catch up with fellow islanders and have a chat and gossip.

The stories on and off the island are about connectedness. The island exists in a flow of transnational networks, economic and social remittances. Islanders commented on, for example, that the strength of the community is that everyone knows everyone, and islandness is thus not like mainland urban spaces where people

find themselves isolated (Rapport, 2002, p. 230). Instead, islandness is about being constantly connected (Hay, 2006, p. 23).

Due to the island's connectedness with the outside world, the relationship with Britain however, continues to be complex, paradoxical, contradictory and juxtaposed. In the previous section I argued that a sense of British patriotism and an ideological sense of Britishness has weakened. However, many of the islanders have drawn upon their new opportunities within the *space of possibles*, and ironically moved to Britain. Subsequently, for the sake of community, survival & continuity, St Helenians move to the UK, and in return find themselves building new lives, responsibilities and connections in the UK. An ever-increasing migrant St Helenian population exists in the UK, as does a second generation of St Helenians. The St Helenian community may have found themselves disillusioned by the imagined links between the island and the mainland, yet simultaneously have created more real material links within the UK for themselves. Once more, the St Helenian identity is demonstrating that it is never fixed but rather complex, reflexive, reactive and interactive.

St Helenianness as Consciousness, Community and Identity

For Bourdieu, his analytical concepts of cultural fields and the habitus are what explains the collectiveness and connectivity of a community. Moreover, Bourdieu argued that agents have an understanding of who they are through difference, distinction and an ideological awareness of their community's collective values. The analytical tools of Bakhtin complements the analytical tools of Bourdieu by enabling

an investigation of the islander's collective consciousness through their collective language, which illustrates a community's willingness to survive and move forward. He argued that a community's boundaries are more than a careful and subtle negotiation of structure and agency, rules and regulations. For Bakhtin, through having a consciousness of one's own community an awareness of 'others' takes place. This can help push the boundaries of one's own culture as well as strengthen its own boundaries.

Supporting this, Terry described how although many St Helenians spend most of their lives overseas, including their childhood and education, they can still be a 'true saint'. This is someone who 'has the same aspirations, the same psyche, the same way of thinking'. In other words, they must be formed and socialised within a St Helenian community; a St Helenian habitus. Thus, a St Helenian born on Ascension can still be a legitimate St Helenian, in comparison to an ex-pat who has lived for many years on the island. Thus, in times of shifts and rupture, the community consciousness remains intact, the boundaries remain firm, and distinction remains important.

The stories that belong to the St Helenian community moreover, continue to inform the islanders of who they are. According to Plummer, stories become the public narratives, or the 'truth' markers of a community, and so the St Helenian stories inform the islanders of their collective identity and collective history. Stories of tradition, nostalgia, loss, longing, belonging, rupture, displacement, restlessness, rootedlessness are some of the dominant forms of the St Helenian stories. The narratives of the islanders included many metaphors, many of

which symbolised the dispersal of the community. Moreover, their narratives constantly invoked inside and outside metaphors, as they articulated a sense of closure, closeness and insularity on the island, compared to freedom, opportunity and the 'outside world'. The community consciousness for the islanders is thus one of living in an island bubble, but also about moving beyond its boundaries.

Some islanders told stories of how they needed to get away from an island where you feel a sense of 'cabin fever, mundane routine, or where the 'gossip can get you down'. Moreover, islanders feel a need to get away after relationships break down or when relationships become destructive or suffocating. In other words, islanders need a break from islandness from time to time. However, this does not mean the community members are becoming detached. St Helenianness is thus about closeness, but also about enabling distance. The stories include a sense of re-charging, reflecting and readjusting. Nonetheless, even when overseas and anonymous, St Helenians are surrounded by the support of the Diaspora. As James stated, islandness creates a particular 'consciousness' because 'you are always conscious of other people all the time'.

The stories contain the contradictions and structures that the St Helenians negotiate. They also contain the multiple orders of hailing, for example, as family members, St Helenian islanders, workers, British citizens and migrants. Thus, the St Helenians tell stories of migration as well as stories of Britishness. The stories provide the testimony not only of a legitimate St Helenian islander, but also of the islands careful relationship with the British. Their migration stories thus include

many British stories such as the 100 men, war stories and stories as domestic workers. The stories thus inflect generations of migration and transnationalism.

Past literature on the island has stated that some decades ago, the St Helenians acknowledged the history of the island and how many cultures and ethnic groups travelled to the island. However, although the islanders subsequently referred to themselves as ‘liquorice allsorts’, the islanders only acknowledged their British identity and they demonstrated a rejection of, or ignorance to, their African roots (Cohen, 1983, pp. 22-24).

More recently, Hogenstijn and Middlekoop (2002, 1.2) stated how the ‘history of the island is no longer denied (2002, 6.1.1) and they noted how at the Quincentenary celebrations on the island, the history of the island including the slavery was visually displayed. I argue however, that the research of Hogenstijn and Middlekoop (2002) merely scratched the surface of this shift within the St Helenian community. This could be because the qualitative data they collected was not as rich or unstructured as the collection of stories within this research. Moreover, their sample of key-informants who are used to speaking with ex-pats and ‘experts’, possibly articulated the external voices, specifically constructed for an outside audience (Schulenburg, 2002, p. 26). Regardless, what I discovered within my research is that many of the St Helenian community are now embracing their ‘colourful’ past and heritage, and willing to discuss their genealogical roots. This has not been fully captured before.

It thus appears that in an Althusserian sense, the islanders have experienced an ideological shift towards a more abstract sense of identity and this has enabled, in a Bakhtinian sense, the islanders to finally hear their own history and make it for themselves. This is a significant shift from what Cohen discovered three decades ago:

‘St Helenians have failed, so far, to come to grips with their own history and what is being done in their name. The impoverishment of St Helena is not only of the body but of the intellect. Neither form of impoverishment can be overcome until St Helenians start to make history themselves rather than being made by it’
(Cohen, 1983a, p. 27)

I thus argue that the St Helenians, to a certain extent, have formed a new ideological consciousness of who they are and are now realising that they are actually making history for themselves. The weakening of their hailed British national identity, alongside the return of British citizenship, has provided the islanders with a sense of empowerment, a desire to make capital for themselves and a shift away from a culture of dependency, even if the whole community are not explicitly supporting this. Nonetheless, the islanders’ sense of entitlement and sense of rights had been severed and a new urgency towards being financially independent had been created.

The shifts in the community consciousness have taken some decades, and the new voices of change and empowerment continue to be surrounded by the voices of resistance who advocate old routines and old fashioned attitudes. However, a ‘cultural negotiation’ (Dentith, 1995, p. 102) is occurring and this new ideological consciousness has become the stimulus for change. The careful relationship with the

British continues. Simultaneously, the islanders are demonstrating an awareness of their own agency, and the ability to psychologically and materially manage the advantages of their British identity for themselves.

Conclusion

This thesis has put the Island of St Helena on the culturalist map and reconciled Schulenburg's claim that 'there is a severe lack of comprehensive primary research, and ... critical engagement with St Helena's history' (Schulenburg, 1998, p, 120). This thesis thus contributes empirically grounded and theoretically driven research to the limited stock of literature on the Island of St Helena. It covers some of the different facets of St Helenianness and St Helenian islandness such as identity, community and culture.

This thesis has also put small islands into the culturalist debates. Within this thesis I have provided a small island case study and applied culturalist analytical tools to it to demonstrate the complex nature of islandness. I have therefore situated the islanders at the forefront of this research and investigated what their island and islandness means to them, as a specific island community. I thus argue that islands and islandness cannot be reduced to a fixed set of ideas for the sake of development nor can they be investigated in an empiricist way.

Although I wanted thick anthropological data, I had culturalist questions. Structure and feeling led my initial investigation. Thus, I chose theorists that would assist with an investigation of structure and agency, contradiction, community and

ideology. St Helena is a state dominated, British public economy and so a neo-Althusserian approach was necessary to investigate the emotions, feelings and experiences of the islanders as a consequence of the material and psychological structures in place on the island. The analytical tools of Bourdieu awarded further nuance to the investigation by incorporating a consideration of agency alongside structure, behaviour, values, movement and distinction. The theories of Plummer and Bakhtin awarded further purchase into how the islanders obtain a sense of continuity and collectiveness through their language use, collective identities and collective histories.

The St Helenians were investigated as a speech community, to reveal the idiomatic practices and speech etiquettes of this particular island community. Subsequently the triangulation of analytical approaches was not to obtain truth claims, but rather to award more purchase into the complexity of their identity and community. However, throughout the interviews I heard the same stories, and thus such public narratives provided the testimony of the collective experiences and histories for this specific island community.

The culturalist approach that positions the islanders at the forefront of this research and focuses on their feelings rather than the history, geography or economy of the island, contributes to the originality of this thesis. So does the triangulated use of the analytical approaches. Moreover, this is the only research that has investigated the islanders Britishness, identity and experiences of migration since the established return of British citizenship in 2002. As mentioned previously in this thesis, Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop undertook their research between

March and June 2002, and citizenship was returned to the islanders in May of the same year (Hogenstijn and van Middelkoop, 2002, pp. 97-98). Thus, they admit that much of their research was speculative (2002, 1.3).

As a consequence of my research, I contribute to the existing literature on St Helena my argument that the St Helenian identity is not an offshoot of the British national identity, but rather it is a hybrid identity that carefully and subtly manages and negotiates Britishness within their St Helenian identity. The St Helenian identity is a shared narrative and one that is a constellation of ideas, perceptions and beliefs, which sit comfortably alongside each other. Thus, it is not a completely overdetermined British identity nor is it an identity detached from Britishness.

The new wave of migration that the return of British citizenship caused in 2002, created a new wave of conspiracy theories, anxieties and concerns. However, the history of the island has demonstrated that migration is a characteristic of St Helenianness and islandness. For the islanders, continuity is composed of a discourse of rupture and their habitus and 'spirit' supports the island community in times of shifts and ruptures, thus preventing permanent fractures.

In contrast to the most recent conspiracy theories, I argue that the removal of British citizenship in 1981 was what created the real, significant and continuing rupture, not the most recent wave of migration in 2002. Despite citizenship since being returned, I argue that the rupture created in 1981 continues through the weakening of the islanders' ideological understanding of their own identity. The St

Helenian identity has shifted away from Britishness and more towards an abstract sense of identity.

Within this research I have also clarified and elaborated on the islanders relatively new willingness to articulate their multicultural heritage. Thus, the rejection of any other culture other than a British culture clearly no longer exists on the island, and although the islanders continue to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism to Britain, the St Helenian community are no longer ignoring history and embracing other aspects of their past cultural identities.

This research also contributes to the debates that migration is not necessarily a one-way process, and for many St Helenians migration is a transnational process whereby they have homes in multiple places and move between islands. Since the return of British citizenship, many islanders are repeatedly travelling between their home island and the satellite island, the UK. Thus the islanders are not only transnational but they are trans-islanders. However, this is where the contradictory, juxtaposed and paradoxical nature of the St Helenian identity continues. Although the islanders are now more detached from their sense of Britishness, a new form of Britishness is contributing to their identity and sense of their selves, as many more St Helenians have now settled in the UK and a larger second generation is forming. Thus, it could be argued that whilst a sense of Britishness is continuing to weaken, a sense of lived Britishness is simultaneously growing stronger.

Uncertainty, shift and rupture is a complex, paradoxical and contradictory characteristic of islandness and St Helenianness. This is something that the islanders have learnt to negotiate within their intersubjective positions. The St Helenian identity is thus durable, reflexive, reactive and interactive, as well as cemented through language. This enables change and movement, structure and agency, continuity and discontinuity, closeness and dispersal, to exist within this consciously intact community.

Although this thesis is specifically an investigation of St Helenian identity, it does contribute to the qualitative generalisations that can be made regarding island communities and islandness. Alongside some of the literature discussed in chapter 2, it confirms Baldacchino's (2004, p. 1) contention that there are characteristics and questions which specifically relate to island life. Island communities thus do have generic and generalisable qualitative features such as migration and diaspora.

Island communities are also often limited by economic and geographical constraints such as isolation, infrequent transport, cost of travel and a lack of access to goods; as well as political constraints such as the decisions of the mainland and the island's official national identity. This thesis thus contributes to the questions regarding how island communities survive when up against dispersal, rupture and change, and subsequently this thesis supports, and contributes to, the qualitative generalisations already in existence within island literature, which has demonstrated that survival is due to collective identities and habitus; underpinned by community, kinship and loyalty (see Cohen, 1987; Olwig, 1993; Skinner, 2002a).

To summarise, this thesis fundamentally draws from the disciplines of Sociology, Cultural Studies and Anthropology for an understanding of islandness. Moreover, it also draws from the disciplines of psychology, geography and history. Additionally, this thesis draws upon the analytical tools of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin. It also refers to the issues of migration, identity, transnationalism and citizenship. However, its primary orientation and contribution is towards 'Island Studies'.

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Appendix A.

Questions for those on St Helena

Migration

Please can you tell me about 'migration' and what migration means to you and the island?

Does the word 'exile' mean anything to you or your community?

What do you think about St Helena's airport?

Have you ever considered leaving the island?

Islandness

Do you think there is such a thing as a 'community'?

Are you part of a community? How do you know? Where does a community begin and end?

Some people say there is no such thing as an island, because even islands have connections with the rest of the world. What do you think about the statement- there is no such a thing as an island?

Citizenship

What has citizenship meant to you?

What has citizenship meant to the island?

What does the link with Britain mean to you?

Identity

Given everything that you've said, (perhaps family, community, migration, Britain, St Helena), could you tell me about what you consider to be your identity or how you think of your identity?

Finally

Are there any other issues you would like to discuss?

Are there any other questions that you would have expected me to ask?

One more thing

As you may know, I will be asking the same questions to St Helenians living within the UK. Could you recommend someone who has left the Island since 2002, for me to ask them if I could involve them within my research.

Questions for those in UK

Migration

Please tell me the story of how you came here?

What made you decide to come here?

Does the word 'exile' mean anything to you or your community?

What do you think about St Helena's airport?

Islandness

Do you think there is such a thing as a 'community'?

Are you part of a community? How do you know? What are the boundaries?

Some people say there is no such thing as an island, because even islands have connections with the rest of the world. What do you think about the statement- there is no such a thing as an island?

Citizenship

What has citizenship meant to you?

What has citizenship meant to the island?

What does the link with Britain mean to you?

Identity

Given everything that you've said, (perhaps family, community, migration, Britain, St Helena), could you tell me about what you consider to be your identity or how you think of your identity?

Finally

Are there any other issues you would like to discuss?

Are there any other questions that you would have expected me to ask?

One more thing

Could you recommend other St Helenians, for me to ask them if I could involve them within my research.

Appendix B

Ethical Statement

This information sheet is about the research that I am undertaking with St Helenians, both on the Island and in the UK. You have been asked to take part in the research.

My research is about St Helena, Britain, islanders, community, citizenship, identity and migration. The questions will focus on these issues.

The research is being undertaken for the purpose of my PhD. and will be recorded. Your interview will then be transcribed and used for the purpose of my PhD research. Your interview will remain anonymous and confidential. I will not tell anyone what you have said within this research and no-one will be able to identify you from the research report.

You are aware that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that you can withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. You can also ask questions at any time.

For the purpose of my research, I have not designed a lengthy questionnaire. Instead, my research is going to draw upon conversations. I have some questions but you may cover these as we have a general chat about St Helena, Britain, islanders, community, citizenship, identity and migration.

Appendix C

	Pseudonym	Age	Brief synopsis
<i>Interviewed on island</i>			
1	Jane	41	Lived most of her life on island. Has also spent a couple of years on Ascension whilst her husband worked there; lived for one year in the UK whilst studying; lived in the UK for an additional couple of years. Jane currently lives on island and works for the Education Department. Her son currently works on Ascension.
2	Abbey	18	Moved to the UK when a young child and returned to St Helena after she had finished her education. She now works for the Public Health Department.
3	Christopher	28	Travelled whilst working for the British forces and returned to the island two years ago. He now works for the Public Works and Services Department.
4	Pauline	46	After her sons left home she took work on the Falklands. There she met her British husband and together they lived in the UK for a few years. She has since moved back to the island to be near a sick relative although would prefer to be overseas. She now works for the Education Department
5	Anna	28	Lived in the UK whilst studying for her degree. Moved back to the island and now works for the Public Health Department. Her parents live in the UK.
6	Derek	63	Worked on Ascension before he married and settle down. Has spent time in UK on holidays and for vocational training. His adult children are currently overseas but building their homes on island for when they return. He is now retired but does odd jobs for people particularly when the RMS is in dock.
7	Rosemary	50	Currently works on the Falkland Islands and was on St Helena for a 3 month holiday. She gave her St Helenian home to her eldest child so is currently saving to build a smaller home for herself.
8	Maureen	59	Lived on St Helena all her life but has been overseas for a holiday. She is currently a cleaner and home help. She has one adult child in the UK, one adult child on Ascension and one adult child on St Helena.
9	Eve	78	Lived on island all her life but has several adult children who live in the UK and they have paid for her to visit them in the UK. She is now retired but was a

			house keeper and factory worker
10	Katie	45	Has never lived overseas but has worked on the RMS and so has travelled to UK, Africa, Tristan Du Cunha, Ascension.
11	Robert	66	Currently works on Ascension Island and has done so since he was a teenager. He has an adult son on Ascension and an adult son in the UK. He returns to St Helena for holidays although has spent some holidays in the UK. He sold his home on St Helena but has plenty of relations to stay with when on island.
12	George	70	Has never been off island. Inherited his home from his parents and has lived there ever since. He is now retired but used to work for the Public Works and Services Department
13	Frank	65	Is now retired but has part time work as a barman. He worked on Ascension before he married and has spent a year living in the UK whilst his wife was in the UK training.
14	Simon	55	Spent over a decade working on Ascension Island and has travelled to America on numerous occasions. He now works for the Human Resources Department.
15	Molly	88	Is now retired and has only been off island once to South Africa for a holiday to visit family. Was once offered employment in South Africa but she didn't take it. She has many adult children. Some are on St Helena and some are on Ascension. She used to work in the mill, in the dairy and in the flax fields.
16	Julie	37	Currently works for the Public Health department but has handed in her notice as she is taking employment on the Falklands next month. This will be her first time off the island. She is leaving behind her adult son and teenage son.
17	Holly	35	Left the island to work as a domestic worker in the UK almost twenty years ago. She has returned to live on the island due to a sick relative but is looking forward to moving back to the UK.
18	Richard	40	Obtained a work permit, and worked for a year in the UK and then travelled around Europe before returning to the island where he wishes to stay. He currently works for the Agriculture and Natural Resources

			Department
19	Adam	52	Worked on Ascension in his twenties and then on the RMS during the Falklands war. He now has three jobs on the island
20	Elsa	76	Moved to the UK in her twenties after marrying a British man. Lived in the UK where she worked and raised her children. She and her husband retired to the island when in her seventies. Her children and grandchildren live in the UK and she visits them in the UK once a year.
21	Zoe	27	Moved to the UK when in her early twenties and then travelled Australia for six months. Now she lives on island with her family and is thinking about moving on again but isn't sure if she actually wants to leave her family and the island lifestyle. She currently works for the Education Department.
22	Rachel	36	Lives on island with her husband and young children. She accompanied her husband to the UK for three years when he did his vocational training. She also engaged in vocational training whilst in the UK. She currently works for the Education Department.
23	Keith	40	Spent a year in the UK for vocational training. Currently works for the Department for Education
24	Victoria	30	Has lived all of her life on St Helena and never wishes to leave. Her Mum is on island but her Dad lives in the UK. (Since the interview her relationship ended and she now lives on the Falklands.)
25	James	70	Spent some years on Ascension and has visited the UK for holidays. He is now retired but has several part time jobs. His adult children live overseas with his grandchildren.
26	Terry	57	Spent most of his childhood and teenage years in the UK. He now lives on the island where he wants to stay.
27	Alison	24	Lived in the UK whilst studied for a degree. Now works in the private sector but remains bonded whilst she pays back her fees by working on the island.
28	Stella	42	Works for the private sector and has never lived overseas.

29	Angela	36	Used to be a buyer for the island and so travelled to the UK several times with the job. Now works within the private sector.
30	Victor	55	Spent a year in the UK for his own vocational training. Spent another year some decades later whilst his wife was doing vocational training
31	Scarlett	18	Currently a student and has been off island once for a holiday. She hopes to go to the UK for education one day. Her sister is leaving the island soon to start her education in the UK
32	Josie	18	Currently a student and has never been off island
33	Tim	18	Recently returned to the island after spending two years in the UK where he was enrolled in a school
34	David	18	Currently a student and has never been off island
35	Lindsay	18	Currently a student. She has never been off island but her Mum is trying to encourage her to think about going to the UK for education
36	Clive	60	He got his first job on Ascension Island aged 15. He returned to the island when he married and worked for the private sector where the job sent him overseas on many occasions. Some of his adult children live overseas and some live on island
37	Faith	46	Moved to the Falklands and then moved to the UK. Currently lives on island with her teenage child and her other adult children live in the UK.
38	Emma	34	Lived on the island all her life but regularly travels overseas with her job on the RMS. She never wants to permanently live overseas.
39	Helen	22	Lived in the UK when studying for her degree. Now works for the Human Resources Department and is seeking more training opportunities overseas although she is currently bonded by the St Helena Government.
40	Joanna	47	Worked for the Education Department for over ten years but now works for the private sector. She has studied in the UK and visited other countries for holidays. She has no plans to leave the island and her daughter has recently returned to the island.

41	Annie	20	Has never left the island and her sister is leaving for the first time this week. She thinks she may move overseas sometime but has no imminent plans. She likes having the house to herself whilst her Mum works overseas.
42	Felicity	53	Spend most of her childhood overseas but has since lived on island and has no plans to leave.
43	Philip	36	Worked on Ascension island for many years and has now moved back to St Helena to work in the private sector.
44	Scott	37	Lived in the UK when on vocational training. Now lives with his wife and young children and is hoping his future employment will enable him to travel and take his family with him. He currently works for the Education Department.
45	Clara	74	Moved to the UK when in her teenage years and had a family in the UK. She has recently moved back to St Helena but hasn't decided whether she will settle permanently on the island as so many of her family are in the UK.
46	Marcus	26	Spent three years in the UK whilst studying for his degree. He now works for the Finance Department but is considering moving on again.
47	Hilary (not St Helenian)	60	Visited the island in her early twenties and married a St Helenian. She has lived on the island ever since and her adult children live overseas with her grandchildren
<i>Interviewed in UK</i>			
48	Nicola	45	Hadn't left the island until the last couple of years when she took a domestic post in the UK. She will return to the island once she has saved enough money to pay off her house. She currently lives with her husband in the stately home that she works at.
49	Edward	60	Spent most of his adult life off island working on the ship and working on Ascension. Currently lives in the stately home where he is the gardener and will return to the island in the next couple of years.
50	Amanda	55	Left the island as a late teenager and married a British man and has since lived all her life in the UK. She has had British citizenship since her twenties. She stays in touch with the island and believes she will retire to the

			island. Since leaving the island she has been home three times.
51	Ben	22	Moved to the UK with his parents and finished his education in the UK. Went back to St Helena for a few years and then joined his parents again when they returned to the UK. Even though he knows most of his peer group are now in the UK, he thinks he will go back to the island whilst he is still quite young and refuses to let his parents sell the family home on the island
52	Jim	49	Worked on Ascension Island before he got married. Spent time in the UK whilst his wife was training. He then returned to the island for some years but is now back in the UK and is not sure if he will ever return to the island on a permanent basis.
53	Geoff	47	Worked on Ascension Island with his partner but due to her health they moved back to St Helena and then started a family. His family moved to the UK a couple of years ago to earn money and give the son a British education. They enjoy life in the UK but barely see each other due to working shifts to cover childcare.
54	Ellie	19	Was born on Ascension Island because her father has a job on the island. She has returned to St Helena for holidays and moved to the UK for her A Levels and degree. She does not want to return to either island until she reaches retirement age and then she knows she will move home to St Helena.
55	Dawn	47	Moved to Ascension with her husband and spent ten years there. Moved back to St Helena for a while and then moved to the UK. She enjoys extravagant holidays whilst she is here in the UK. She is not sure if she will ever return to the island on a permanent basis but she still has a house on island.
56	Harry	39	Moved to the UK ten years ago because his partner had a domestic post. He obtained a work permit and found employment, although has worked as a British citizen since 2002. He has a mortgage in the UK and is also paying for his house to be built on the island.
57	Amelia	36	Moved to the UK ten years and lived in a stately home as a domestic worker. She has lived in the UK ever since and has a mortgage in the UK and is also paying for her house to be built on the island.

58	Carol	54	Went to the Falklands to work whilst her children were little, but in her absence they displayed behavioural problems so she returned to St Helena. Almost two decades later she took a domestic post in the UK and will return to the island once she has saved enough money to pay off her house. She currently lives with her husband in the stately home that she works at.
59	Ruby	44	Moved to the UK for one year training in her early twenties. Went back to the island but a British man proposed to her so she moved back to the UK and started a family. She misses the island and would love to go back but she knows her British husband and British children wouldn't settle
60	Donna	36	Moved to the UK for training in her early twenties and when she returned to the island she knew it would not be enough for her. She moved to Ascension with her partner where they had children. Because Ascension is not a good environment for children her family moved to the UK but they are not against the idea of moving to a different country
61	Mary	59	Left the island in her late teens and although her training fell through whilst she was in transit she decided to stay in the UK. She has had many jobs since and had a family. She has only been back to the island once and that was ten years ago but she is planning her next visit. She would like to retire to the island but thinks her outspoken views would upset the islanders
62	Tania	58	Left the island in her late teens as a domestic and married a British man. After her divorce she moved back to the island, but then moved back to the UK again on a domestic post. She has had many jobs in the UK and although she has no plans to retire to the island she is currently buying a home on the island.
63	Janet	51	Spent time in her late teens for training in the UK. Returned to the island and started a family. Had some holidays overseas but went to the UK when in her forties to do more training. Returned to the island to pay off her bond and has since moved back to the UK and obtained British citizenship in 2002 whilst living here. She is unsure whether she will ever return to the island on a permanent basis but is worried about her Mum on island.
64	Irene	72	Her sister got her a job as a domestic when she was in

			her twenties so she moved to the UK. She paid for her own education whilst in the UK and found employment. She moved back to the island to be with her husband but her job enabled her to travel. Since she has retired she has travelled extensively and spends time in the UK each year although her home is on St Helena.
65	Sophie	23	Was educated in the UK and is currently studying for her degree but she does not like the UK and can't wait to get back to St Helena. She is concerned that the island can not offer her the career she wants but nonetheless wishes to stay on island.
66	Daniel	28	Moved to the UK for a year whilst in his early twenties and then went back to the island. He has since returned to the UK whilst his girlfriend studies. He will move back to the island when she has finished her studies.
67	Avril	60	Her sister got her a job as a domestic in the UK but she didn't like it so she returned back to the island. She then got another job as a domestic in the UK and this time she enjoyed it and stayed. She left domestic work to go into retail where she has had a long career. She is now retired and enjoys visits to the island but she will never return there on a permanent basis.
68	Glenda (not St Helenian)	58	Travelled to St Helena when in her twenties and married a St Helenian man. Some of her adult children live on St Helena and some live in the UK. She lives in the UK but still maintains links with the island and wishes to move back there.
69	Lisa	80	Left the island in her twenties to be a domestic in the UK. Worked all her life as a domestic and nanny. She has never been back to the island but retains contact with her brothers and sister on the island.
70	Sally	42	Left in her early twenties to be a domestic. Married a British man and has a family in the UK. She misses the island and both she and her husband are tempted to move to the island but they know their children won't settle on the island and they are not convinced they would either.

Appendix D

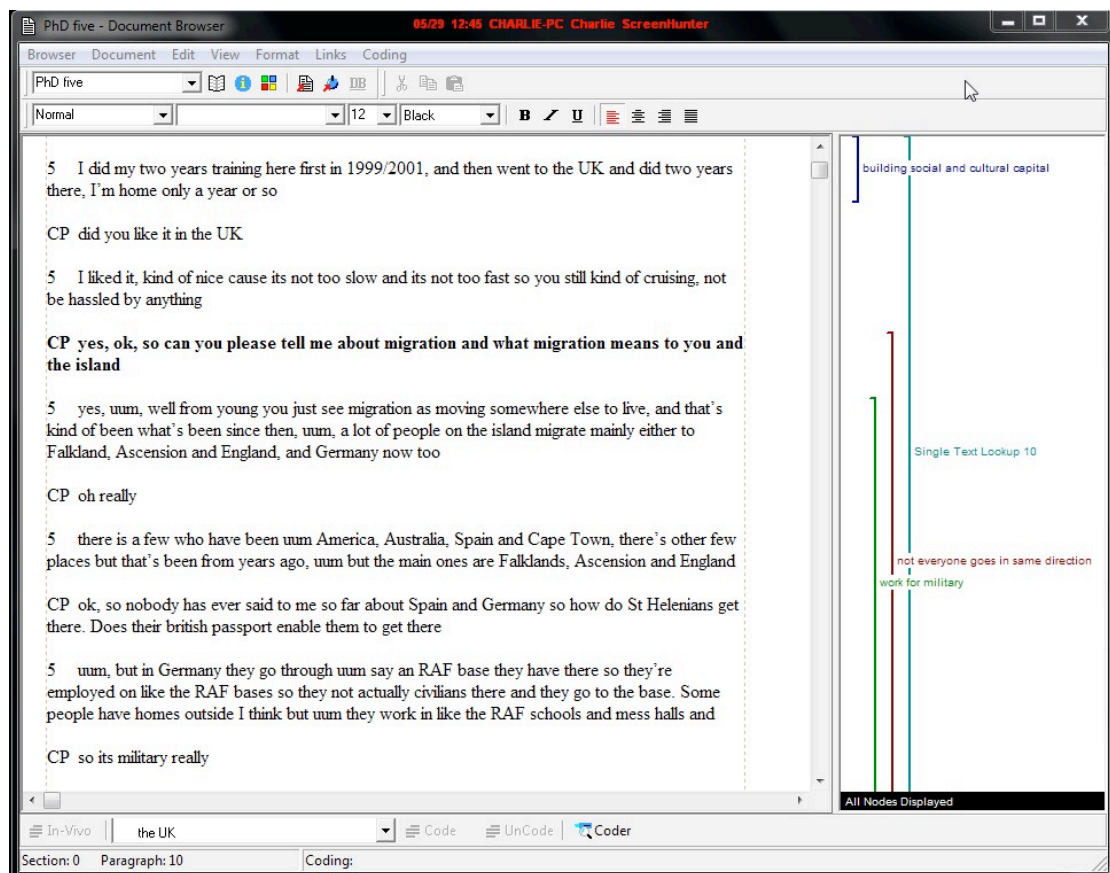
Coding the Data into NVivo

The 70 interviews were coded using NVivo. For the purpose of coding, I created four pages of hand-written notes before I started. On each page I wrote the analytical concepts of Althusser, Bourdieu, Plummer and Bakhtin. This was so I could read through each interview with a constant reminder in front of me, of their key concepts.

Over many days, I then opened each interview using NVivo, read them and coded the material. Although I created four nodes before I started (1-Althusser, 2- Bourdieu, 3- Plummer, 4- Bakhtin), I created a further 172 nodes as I read the interviews and decided how they could be coded. Thus, the nodes were created throughout the coding process. Because of this, the coding process was very slow at the beginning.

At the time of coding I was uncertain of the issues that I would include in each of the data analysis chapters, as well as which quotes would be the most suited for each section. Subsequently, I coded many quotes more than once and into many nodes. An example of this can be seen in figure 1 on the following page. When I came to use the quotes, I clicked on each node and read each of the quotes within that particular node/subject matter. I then chose for my data chapter, the quote that was the clearest and provided the richest insight into the issues I wished to discuss.

Figure 1. An example of how one quote can be coded within numerous nodes



Using NVivo, I actually coded most of the interviews twice. When I first returned from the island and had started collecting data within the UK, I started to code the data using 'face value' concepts, for example, the airport, community centres, tourists. However, I then shifted in my analytical approach from undertaking a traditional ethnography to a more cultural analysis. I therefore started my coding again, using the four theorists as the underpinning of my analysis. Due to coding the interviews twice, coding many quotes in several places, and re-reading the content of each node, I felt I had immersed myself with my data in a rigorous way which is necessary for rich qualitative data.

Below are the 176 nodes which I created throughout the coding process; using 1-Althusser, 2- Bourdieu, 3- Plummer, 4- Bakhtin as parent nodes, or starting points. I also created a final parent node called speech community where I coded single terms which I considered to be the generic idiosyncratic terms of the St Helenian community

Project: St Helena 2 User: Administrator Date: 29/05/2011 - 11:39:47
NODE LISTING

Nodes in Set: All Tree Nodes
Created: 03/06/2010 - 17:45:00
Modified: 03/06/2010 - 17:45:00
Number of Nodes: 176

- 1 (1) /althusser
 - 2 (1 1) /althusser/consumerism & business is limited
 - 3 (1 2) /althusser/family supports life overseas
 - 4 (1 3) /althusser/no prospects or money on island
 - 5 (1 4) /althusser/brain drain - loose the young
 - 6 (1 5) /althusser/media as ISA
 - 7 (1 6) /althusser/believe it to be their choice
 - 8 (1 7) /althusser/leave family to better family
 - 9 (1 8) /althusser/endless chain - production & consump
 - 10 (1 9) /althusser/reserve army of labour on cheap pay
 - 11 (1 10) /althusser/high status for those who go overs 2
 - 12 (1 11) /althusser/blame geography
 - 13 (1 12) /althusser/dependent
 - 14 (1 13) /althusser/structured travel due to lack of pas
 - 15 (1 14) /althusser/sense of acceptance & subordinate cu
 - 16 (1 15) /althusser/have to accept subordinate position
 - 17 (1 16) /althusser/UK provides ISAs
 - 18 (1 17) /althusser/UK provides economic needs
 - 19 (1 18) /althusser/structured identity
 - 20 (1 19) /althusser/domestic
 - 21 (1 20) /althusser/dont want to leave ~ not happy
 - 22 (1 21) /althusser/migration accepted and naturalised

23 (1 22) /althusser/UK paved with gold~attractive
 24 (1 23) /althusser/depend on health care
 25 (1 24) /althusser/education system
 26 (1 25) /althusser/UK not heard of st h
 27 (1 26) /althusser/UK didn't look after island
 28 (1 27) /althusser/local politics
 29 (1 28) /althusser/school doesn't support workforce
 30 (1 29) /althusser/St h is backward
 31 (1 30) /althusser/passport creates limitations
 32 (1 31) /althusser/can't leave due to family
 33 (1 32) /althusser/traveling to & from island very limi
 34 (1 33) /althusser/cost of living high on island
 35 (1 34) /althusser/work for military
 36 (1 35) /althusser/school supports migration
 37 (1 36) /althusser/school children want to go
 38 (1 37) /althusser/governor
 39 (1 38) /althusser/tourism expensive on island
 40 (1 39) /althusser/inward investors and immigrants
 41 (1 40) /althusser/island needs suitable infratructure
 42 (1 41) /althusser/Gov created dependancy
 43 (1 42) /althusser/not always space on flight
 44 (1 43) /althusser/have to go SA for medical
 45 (1 44) /althusser/interpellation
 46 (1 45) /althusser/broken families
 47 (1 46) /althusser/public and private sector
 48 (1 47) /althusser/british clubs and practices
 49 (1 48) /althusser/fruit & veg
 50 (1 49) /althusser/ex-pats on island have high status
 51 (1 50) /althusser/life on island used to be tough
 52 (1 51) /althusser/unequal pay & treatment for teachers
 53 (1 52) /althusser/exiles club and hierarchy
 54 (1 53) /althusser/cost too much to come home ~ leave
 55 (1 54) /althusser/DfID - british politics
 56 (1 55) /althusser/telephone-internet is expensive
 57 (1 56) /althusser/British request St H
 58 (1 57) /althusser/gov pay courses - bonded
 59 (1 58) /althusser/experts
 60 (1 59) /althusser/UK uses ST H
 61 (1 60) /althusser/Tree Node
 62 (1 61) /althusser/commonwealth & empire

- 63 (2) /Bourdieu
- 64 (2 1) /Bourdieu/build a home
- 65 (2 2) /Bourdieu/grandparents as parents
- 66 (2 3) /Bourdieu/concerns about community
- 67 (2 4) /Bourdieu/Ascension & F opened opportunities
- 68 (2 5) /Bourdieu/community & family loyalty
- 69 (2 6) /Bourdieu/positive perception of community
- 70 (2 7) /Bourdieu/distinction between islanders
- 71 (2 8) /Bourdieu/symbols of community on island
- 72 (2 9) /Bourdieu/acceptance of ex-pats
- 73 (2 10) /Bourdieu/distinction - community overseas
- 74 (2 11) /Bourdieu/St H community overseas
- 75 (2 12) /Bourdieu/stigma
- 76 (2 13) /Bourdieu/struggles on island - citizenship
- 77 (2 14) /Bourdieu/structure created a craving
- 78 (2 15) /Bourdieu/choose british nationality for own a
- 79 (2 16) /Bourdieu/adapting identity to new culture
- 80 (2 17) /Bourdieu/building social and cultural capital
- 81 (2 18) /Bourdieu/better education overseas
- 82 (2 19) /Bourdieu/build economic capital
- 83 (2 20) /Bourdieu/want - needed to go
- 84 (2 21) /Bourdieu/characteristics of St Helenian commu
- 85 (2 22) /Bourdieu/UK provides security 2
- 86 (2 23) /Bourdieu/want to be on st h
- 87 (2 24) /Bourdieu/accept their lot
- 88 (2 25) /Bourdieu/st h has to improve
- 89 (2 26) /Bourdieu/loyalty to st h when living overseas
- 90 (2 27) /Bourdieu/change creates new demands
- 91 (2 28) /Bourdieu/friends & family go, creates desire
- 92 (2 29) /Bourdieu/perceptions of islanders who have no
- 93 (2 30) /Bourdieu/remittances
- 94 (2 31) /Bourdieu/can't leave due to family 2
- 95 (2 32) /Bourdieu/resistance to st h improving themsel
- 96 (2 33) /Bourdieu/support of St H improving themselves
- 97 (2 34) /Bourdieu/british culture on island
- 98 (2 35) /Bourdieu/not everyone goes in same direction
- 99 (2 36) /Bourdieu/nobody starves on st helena
- 100 (2 37) /Bourdieu/key posts
- 101 (2 38) /Bourdieu/technology provided new space
- 102 (2 39) /Bourdieu/agency- encourage change attitude

- 103 (2 40) /Bourdieu/prefer UK
- 104 (2 41) /Bourdieu/upset family
- 105 (2 42) /Bourdieu/utopia
- 106 (2 43) /Bourdieu/American culture on island
- 107 (2 44) /Bourdieu/transnational families
- 108 (2 45) /Bourdieu/can do well on island-coming back
- 109 (2 46) /Bourdieu/south african culture on island

- 110 (3) /Plummer
 - 111 (3 1) /Plummer/untold emotion
 - 112 (3 2) /Plummer/100 men
 - 113 (3 3) /Plummer/stories told of being in UK
 - 114 (3 4) /Plummer/history of island
 - 115 (3 5) /Plummer/stories of St Helena's historical im
 - 116 (3 6) /Plummer/travel part of St H experience
 - 117 (3 7) /Plummer/airport as current story
 - 118 (3 8) /Plummer/new mixed marriages
 - 119 (3 9) /Plummer/general reflections on migration
 - 120 (3 10) /Plummer/domestics
 - 121 (3 11) /Plummer/mixed ancestry
 - 122 (3 12) /Plummer/health emergencies
 - 123 (3 13) /Plummer/timelines
 - 124 (3 14) /Plummer/reflection due to research
 - 125 (3 15) /Plummer/teaches next generation

- 126 (4) /Bakhtin
 - 127 (4 1) /Bakhtin/contradicting ideologies & emotions
 - 128 (4 2) /Bakhtin/we & they on island
 - 129 (4 3) /Bakhtin/secondary genres
 - 130 (4 4) /Bakhtin/we as one community
 - 131 (4 5) /Bakhtin/loyalty to UK and Britishness
 - 132 (4 6) /Bakhtin/overseas second generation
 - 133 (4 7) /Bakhtin/history feeds into current attitude
 - 134 (4 8) /Bakhtin/I
 - 135 (4 9) /Bakhtin/resists britishness
 - 136 (4 10) /Bakhtin/questioning structures
 - 137 (4 11) /Bakhtin/questions independence
 - 138 (4 12) /Bakhtin/perceptions of dependency
 - 139 (4 13) /Bakhtin/questioning limitations on island

140 (4 14) /Bakhtin/british heritage & sense of belongin
 141 (4 15) /Bakhtin/resisting ~ accepting governor
 142 (4 16) /Bakhtin/perceive St H as lower
 143 (4 17) /Bakhtin/alternative national identities ~ ab
 144 (4 18) /Bakhtin/Britain is powerful - safety net
 145 (4 19) /Bakhtin/symbols of britishness
 146 (4 20) /Bakhtin/loyalty to UK
 147 (4 21) /Bakhtin/words of others
 148 (4 22) /Bakhtin/using words of the future
 149 (4 23) /Bakhtin/changes in ideologies and practices
 150 (4 24) /Bakhtin/conflicting voices and opinions
 151 (4 25) /Bakhtin/future of island
 152 (4 26) /Bakhtin/gratitude to UK
 153 (4 27) /Bakhtin/strong british identity
 154 (4 28) /Bakhtin/fought for british in war
 155 (4 29) /Bakhtin/don't speak propoer british
 156 (4 30) /Bakhtin/aware - nothing gets done
 157 (4 31) /Bakhtin/attitudes don't change
 158 (4 32) /Bakhtin/st Hs not proactive
 159 (4 33) /Bakhtin/British request St H
 160 (4 34) /Bakhtin/UK didn't look after island
 161 (4 35) /Bakhtin/consciousness
 162 (4 36) /Bakhtin/british aristocracy
 163 (4 37) /Bakhtin/questioning britishness
 164 (4 38) /Bakhtin/dont bite hand feeds
 165 (4 39) /Bakhtin/voices of others - inward investors
 166 (4 40) /Bakhtin/resisting treatment by british
 167 (4 41) /Bakhtin/confidence
 168 (4 42) /Bakhtin/global citizens

 169 (5) /speech community
 170 (5 1) /speech community/build a home
 171 (5 2) /speech community/ship day
 172 (5 3) /speech community/rest of the world
 173 (5 4) /speech community/freedom
 174 (5 5) /speech community/isolated
 175 (5 6) /speech community/opportunity
 176 (5 7) /speech community/unique

Appendix E:

Appendix E: Curriculum Vitae (St Helena Research)

Charlotte Parker (nee Panting)

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